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THIRD SERIES—VOLUME XXX. Nos. 59 & 60.

JULY—OCTOBER, 1910.



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THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1910.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.*

By R. E. FORREST.

PART II.

PART I. was ended by saying that in it we had dealt most with the past, while this Part II. was to deal most with the present and the future; and in an earlier part of the paper it was said that for oneself, or ourselves, the paper divided itself into the then and the now, and that we desired to compare the one with the other, so as to see not only how far our own prognostications and anticipations had been fulfilled or not, but to what extent there had been progress or the reverse, advance or retrogression. We would make the comparison under each of the heads under which the first part fell.

Famines stood foremost. The terrible evils caused in past times by the failure of the rainfall, and the consequent effects on the great industry of agriculture, whose usual exclusion from the industries of the land seems to us so extraordinary, have been dwelt upon. Fertile regions were turned into deserts; cheerful, hopeful occupation was turned into grievous, despairing idleness; the food-supply failed; there was no sustenance for man or beast; the great

* For Part I., see our April number.

workshops of the fields stood still ; millions became workless ; the social fabric was shivered and shattered ; restrictions and restraints were thrown aside ; the strongest social ordinances, the caste obligations, lost their power ; law and religion were abrogated ; communities were thrown back into savagery, into brutality. Droughts come still, as come they must. The great point has been the clear recognition of this, of the fact that the complete failure of the rainfall was a part of the round of the seasons, as much as the favourable, or the medium, or the excessive supply ; the great point was the recognition by His Majesty's Indian Government that it was its duty to deal with famines as a part of its ordinary duty, to take thought of their most certain coming, to provide means for their mitigation, their prevention, to bring them into the Budget. Every wise man and State should make provision against the rainy day ; so for England ; but for India we must say rainless. The famines still come, but not with the old destructiveness. They have been got in hand.

Provision has been made against them. The food-supply has been increased ; it can be carried. Irrigation works and means of communication have been multiplied—made more efficient. It is not our purpose to go into details in connection with the latest famines. The one point we have to notice is that in these latest famines the food-supply has been brought into the regions needing them in large measure by private agency, by the movements of commerce, by the flow from the full to the empty. The great, one may say fundamental, and most beneficent law of supply and demand—once, in the historical case of the Orissa famine, leaned upon so fatally at a time when it could not work for want of means—is now coming into strong play through the great agency of the railways ; through extension and betterment of all means of communication, of all means of information, such as post and telegraph ; through an increase of knowledge, energy, enterprise means, in the commercial communities. We would

pass from the present to the future. We would look forward to the day when the insurance against the evil and loss of the famines in India will be provided entirely by the people themselves, by an increase in means, by an increase in the produce from the land, by the obtaining of a full price for it, by the laying by of money, by the establishment of a full, complete system of commerce throughout the land. We have seen it stated that nothing more is to be got out of the land in India. There is a special Department of the State for agriculture. Agricultural experts have been called in from various lands to deal with the question of the betterment of the agricultural system in India, and the above is the conclusion from it all: that there is no room for improvement, that the thousand years' experience of the cultivators has taught them what is best to do, and they do it. But the official and the expert take too near and narrow a view of the subject. They think of the soil, the manure, the agricultural implements, and suchlike. But the cultivation of the land is governed not only by these, but also by political conditions, by the character and mode of life of the people. What is the difference, not in the natural conditions, but in the manner of its occupation by man, in the country-side through which we walk here, in Southern England, and that through which we rode there, in Northern India? This, very great and most significant; that here, throughout the country-side, stand scattered cot, and farm, the country houses, the palatial mansions and the old castles; there stand only villages. Across one landscape is writ large Security, across the other Danger; the one speaks of ages of peace, the other of ages of turbulence; the one of calm repose, and the other of fearfulness. It was the sense of danger that made the people huddle together in town, or city, or village. The villages, more especially in the Punjab, which lie on the roads of invasion, often present to the passer-by a defensive aspect.

The house of the landlord, whether it be a big fort, or a little keep, or a defensive mansion, always forms a part

of the village, is always attached to it. Nine-tenths of the people dwell in villages. Now, the lands of all these villages consist of two parts, of an outer and an inner zone, of the out-fields and the in-fields. The inner is the zone of superior fruitfulness. Sometimes this may be due to natural circumstances, superiority in soil or vicinity to water, for instance ; but mostly it is due to the greater closeness to the labour and manure-supplying centre : it gets the most and the best of the labour and the manure, and it has done this for numerous centuries. It would seem to follow, then, that an increased supply of labour and manure would increase the productiveness of that outer zone, and a small increase only in, say, three-quarters of its villages would mean a great addition to the food-supply of a province. One way of throwing more labour and manure into the outer zone would be by the rise in it of hamlets. We looked for such a movement, but we saw hardly any instances of it. Villages were abandoned wholly, new ones rose up, but still the occupancy of the land continues by villages. The people prefer the larger congregation. The most potent of the primitive emotions, fearfulness, still has strong hold on them. Men of substance still continue to live within the precincts of the ancient walled cities, regardless of insanitary conditions. There is a town in Southern India, the condition of the cultivation round which is very poor, because the cultivators left the villages to live in the walled town in the days of disorder and turbulence at the end of the Mogul rule, and have continued to dwell in it, notwithstanding the additional labour in the cultivation of the fields, and the smaller return from them it entails. The days of turbulence and insecurity may recur again ; no man knoweth how soon. But, to return to our own part of India, only saying that the fear of change is easily awakened, and those who awaken it do no good ; they will not advance but retard industrial and all other development. In the tract between Ganges and Jumna the danger from wild beasts and robber

bands, one of the causes of combined, as against scattered, living in the old days, has diminished distinctly since the time we knew that region first. But the tenacity with which, amid the rise and fall of kingdoms, through long ages, those self-contained, self-sufficing, village communities have preserved their old constitution and form and order, is foremost among the things of note in India.

With its vast and varied surface, its differences of soil and climate, the movement of the food-stuffs is one of the most important things in India, and great things have been done in the way of roads and railroads, with great results. But a great deal has still to be done, not only in the obvious way of providing roads and railroads in regions still unprovided with them, but in many other ways not so obvious. We have long been anxious to call attention to one. If the reader—may we hope Lord Morley?—will look at the map of the Ganges, Jumna Doâb, and of the contiguous great kingdom of Oudh, he will see that the whole vast region is divided into long, narrow strips by the great rivers and the drainage lines between them. The striking things are the narrowness of the belts, and the great length of the containing drainage lines. In the Ganges-Jumna Doâb there is, on the side of the Ganges, a drainage line named the Seyngur Nadi, on that of the Jumna one named the Kali Nadi, which, having their rise not far from the banks of the rivers, run parallel with them for very great lengths—a hundred miles and more—before they turn into them. This is remarkable, as it would have been thought that they must run into them sooner; but that is a matter we have not to deal with here. These streams run in wide and deep channels, and the edges of the troughs are bordered by a labyrinth of ravines. Thus long lengths of the strips of land, which have an average width of about six miles, are shut in and isolated, and passage into them or out of them is not easy. We abode for some years in the tract between the Seyngur and the Jumna. The soil and air were dry, the wells deep; the tract suffered much in

time of drought. The cultivation was poor. Like the inhabitants of all poor and rugged regions, whose ruggedness affords shelter; like the Maharattas of the Deccan, the Highlanders of Scotland, the inhabitants went forth to rob. No petty thieving: to rob by open violence and in gangs, after the manner of war; to rob traders on the road; break into the houses of rich bankers; lift cattle. Numbers of them were drovers, cowherds, breeders of cattle. They retired with their booty to their ravine-sheltered land. It was, and, we think, is, only in the case of a railway or an Imperial or Grand Trunk Road, that these great drainage lines are bridged. They were beyond the resources of the district in engineering skill as in money. But that special tract lay in a district ruled over then (fifty years ago) by a man—Mr. A. O. Hume—of special talent and energy. Seeing the need for them, he had two bridges built over the Seyngur: somehow. Just at that time the East India Railway was opened for traffic up to Agra. It passed close by the opened-out tract, which was thus placed in communication with the great mart of Calcutta. One of the most important of the Indian food-stuffs—*ghi*, clarified butter—was produced, of excellent quality, in that Seyngur-Jumna tract, most of its inhabitants being hereditary cowherds or drovers. The article was in great demand in Calcutta, the *ghi* of the Upper Provinces being deemed better than that of Lower Bengal, and so for the whole tract came a very remunerative traffic. The increased means enabled the people to face the cost of working the deep wells, to place water on their fields, grow the better crops.

The character of the tract and the people changed. Lawlessness diminished; passed away. Then came a greater change. Into our own lot came the great pleasure of directing down that well-known tract one of the main branches of the Lower Ganges Canal, of which we furnished the design. The new order has obliterated

the old; of it now, most probably, not even the memory remains. But there are many of the same kind of tract in Oudh, which in character of land and people present the same features as did the Jumna-Seyngur tract before the transforming agencies came into play. Some five or six years ago special police operations were directed against the raiding, reaving, inhabitants of some of these tracts, and one read of their being "rounded up." The other class of measures, found so successful in the case of the Seyngur-Jumna tract, might be tried.

During the dry months of the year, which are the most numerous, the ordinary country or district roads serve very well for vehicular traffic. If a large deep-cut drainage line stops the free flow of the traffic, and a bar at one point is a bar for the whole road, it should be bridged—as a separate Provincial or Imperial work. The flow of the commerce should be carefully studied, with the aid of maps, by the rulers of every Province, and every block and obstacle noted, marked down for amelioration and removal.

By the use of cow-dung cakes for fuel the fields are deprived of much manure, by which their fertility is greatly diminished. This is well known, of course. But we do not know that any steps have been taken to remedy it. Long ago we urged on the Government of the then North-West Provinces the planting of trees for fuel along the banks of the canals, the sides of the roads; also in the wide extent of waste and broken ground that borders the River Jumna for so long a length—two hundred miles and more. Since then we have seen what great attention is paid to the subject in France and Germany; the Fuel Supply Branch is one of the main ones of the great State Forest Departments there.

By their carrying power the railways would greatly influence trade, commerce, industry, the lives of those engaged in them, the life of the whole community. In a hundred different ways it would affect the mode of living. Some of these ways were dwelt on. The direct effect of the

railways on those travelling on them was considered. This would be very great, it was held. It would awaken a new briskness and energy, a new sense of power ; give a new sense of wonder ; give experience of a new and wonderful sensation of delight. We can recall how the people expressed that wonder and delight when the travel was new and had not become commonplace ; dwelt on the advantages in ways unthought of by us ; the doing of the journey to the delightful Holy Fair between sunrise and sunset, instead of in a fortnight on foot ; that flight through the air twice instead of the trudge of thirty miles a day, carrying babies, pots and pans, and bedding, for thirty days ; no danger from thieves or wolves ; no asking of the way ; no sleeping in strange places ; no eating of stale food for long periods ; the saving of twenty-eight days of travel, so that you could stay longer at the Fair and get back home sooner. The conditions of railway travel would trench on some of the rigidities of caste. Through caste they would act on religion. So great would this effect be, that it was declared that "the shriek of the railway whistle would cause the idols to topple from their pedestals." But those sanguine expectations have not been fulfilled. The railways, instead of causing the idols to fall from their seats, have brought multitudes more of worshippers to the shrines. Never before were the sacred fairs so thronged. Never did the blood of goats flow more profusely before Kali. Never before has there been a greater building of temples in the villages. Bombay and Calcutta are new cities, but Benares and Lahore stand as they were. The throngs at the sacred fairs are changed, but not so changed as to seem new—new crowds of a new people : so little altered as to seem, in the mass, the very same assemblage as of yore—the same in dress, in manner, behaviour, mode of life, ritual of worship. We have made 30,000 miles of railway. But India is large, its population enormous. The colouring process has begun, but "the multitudinous seas to incarnadine" is no small job. Look at these figures : area of

India, 1,767,000 square miles. Even in the finest of the areas, the best cultivated and most densely populated, there are large areas through which no railways run.

The whole population is 264,390,000 persons, of whom 232,000,000 are in British territory. Of these, 150,000,000 are agriculturists and dwell in villages. What a huge resisting block! What a mass of people wholly different from ourselves! What a bulk of adverse public opinion! Of that huge population, the most part are illiterate. Only 53 per thousand are literate. On the whole population, the English literates show as only 68 males and 7 females in every 10,000; in no Provinces does their number exceed 100,000. In the three Presidencies they number—144,000 in Bombay, 190,000 in Madras, 370,000 in Bengal. Great changes have taken place. New religious sects have risen up; new industrial communities been formed. Communities have passed from lower castes into higher. As in England wealth can enable a man to pass into the uppermost social sphere, where caste is, from the lowest, where caste is not, so in India it will enable a community to rise from a humble caste, whose hereditary occupation it has ceased to practise for a generation or two, into a better regarded one, whose calling English rule has enabled it to take up. So, by adequate payment to the Brahmins, a tribe, or sept, of poor fishermen may become one of wealthy scribes. A new great class—a middle class—composed of Government employees, merchants, traders, shopkeepers, manufacturers, mill-owners, contractors, lawyers, doctors, schoolmasters, journalists, brokers, has sprung up. In every branch of the Government service has there been regular and certain payment of the emoluments of every post, high or low—certain payment of pensions. There has been a great diffusion of wealth, a great accumulation of wealth, a great increase in purchasing power. But whatever the changes, the old manners and customs and mode of living, the old fashion of clothing, the old, old life, domestic and social, subsist, conserved by

the enormous forces of caste, religion, custom, feminine influence, fearfulness. Great improvements took place in the circumstances of large sections of the people—the half clad were full clad, the full clad better clad; gold ornaments took the place of silver, silver ones of brass; earthenware gave way to brass, brass to silver, in the vessels used for cooking and eating; there was an improvement in the dietary; there was command of the better kinds of food-stuffs; instead of the rude, rough bedstead, with its string webbing, was the well-made one, tape-bottomed; better carpets were enjoyed; new houses were built in town and country; in the villages brick houses rose up in place of mud-walled cottages. But the clothing, the jewellery, the domestic utensils, the food, the furnishing of the houses, the architecture of the new houses, are all of the same form and fashion as of old. There is a new spirit abroad in India, but the old order still subsists, preserved by the great forces enumerated above—by action of soil and climate. The two—new spirit, old order—may clash or subsist together. Even in the villages, mostly illiterate, largely uneducated, away from contact with the English, the influences due to our presence in the land are felt by the people, through the medium of our laws and institutions, our administrative systems; they have become more conscious of rights, more ready, more able, to protect themselves. But the primitive modes and methods of life still continue.

Some of the new sects have openly abjured idolatry, but their numbers are not large. Without moving out of the fold of the old religion, men of the new education take it, and all appertaining to it, in a new sense. The images and idols remain as symbols; the full ritual remains, with all its machinery; everything material remains; only the mode of viewing alters: it is easier to change a creed than a habit. The latest observers tell us that the great systems of caste and religion are "honey-combed," are "undermined." It may be so: to what extent is the question; and the use of the words would seem to indicate that the

ancient forms still subsist, still present an unbroken front. The old form of life still remains, and the old industries that minister to it still continue.

And so we are brought to the last thing which we have to bring down from the past to the present, the case of the Indian weaver. We had bemoaned his sad condition, the products of his hand-loom exposed to competition with the products of the new steam-driven machinery, with the generous enthusiasm of youth, with a play of the imagination which throws on things the light that never was on sea or land, and envelops oneself in a halo of self-exalting glory, with a bad attack of the pro-Indian and anti-English fever. We thought his case, with the great inrush of English goods, was that of a drowning man. And now, like Jack Robinson in the song, "I am not dead at all," cries the Indian weaver. As our anticipations with regard to the downfall of caste and religion have not been realized in the space of time intervening between our expression of them and this writing—fifty years—so has the submergence of the weaver not taken place either. With the pouring in of the textile fabrics from England, due to the great productive power of the new machinery, to the opening out of the new Red Sea route, came also the great development of our administrative organizations of every description; came the great increase in the number of English troops in India; came the enormous erection of buildings appertaining to our civil and military rule, of private edifices, shops, factories, dwelling-houses. With the expansion of the import of cloth came a great expansion of our territory—in the case of Oudh and the Punjab an increase of an extraordinarily valuable character, not merely in regard to soil and clime and people, but because it made complete our rule over the whole peninsula, made complete that internal commerce, that home trade, which is full of such great consequences, which could now flow free from the Bay of Bengal to the Hindu Kush, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

Our stations had to be planted, all the buildings * connected with them rise up, throughout the wide area of those great kingdoms. Everywhere was the making of roads, Imperial or local; the planting of thousands of miles of avenues; the construction of works of irrigation, of great canals, having on them a vast number of masonry works of different kinds, many of them of enormous size. On all these works—in the arsenals and foundries and factories of the Military Department, in all the varied work at the great seaports, expanding with the expanding commerce—all classes of artisans, smiths, masons, stone-cutters, thatchers, painters, glaziers, carpenters, bricklayers, brick-makers, tile-makers, braziers, tin-smiths, diggers and delvers, and the simple labourers, have found employment, free and continuous and well and securely paid employment, such as was never known in the land before. In connection with the army, besides the actual soldiery were numbers of other natives, whose posts, high or low, afforded them a comfortable or affluent, a certain and secure, living; and in the Civil Branch of the Administration the same could be said of greater multitudes, and the affluence was more extensive and on a much higher level, so that the desire of the English-educated Indians for the higher posts rose to a fierce height. There was a great distribution of wealth. There was a great rise in the purchasing power. This displayed itself most patently in clothing and ornaments—ornaments which serve not merely as such, but as safe, and always convertible, investments. The demand for clothing was large because there were so many among the poorest and most numerous classes wanting it, because the increase of purchasing power was great in this very class; the great irrigation works, more especially, afforded an enormous amount of digging, and the diggers could make large earnings, because their wives and children also found employment with them, as carriers.

* The use of building materials is one of the great marks of prosperity in a land.

The brickmaking was on an enormous scale—a scale which has, unfortunately, left its mark on the Himalayan forests. The demand for clothing was such—and only those who lived among the people knew how great was the need and desire for clothing, especially warm clothing; we remember with what avidity the condemned serge jackets of the sepoy were bought up—that the Indian weaver still found sale for his wares, notwithstanding the new influx of supplies from England. He could get away from the cities to which those supplies came—came, be it remembered, to the shops of the Indian cloth-merchants, to their order, to be vended and distributed by them, to their great profit—get into the country parts to which those supplies would have difficulty in reaching. He could set up his simple machinery anywhere. He knew the tastes of the people, as did the dyer, the calico-printer, who also had the old dyes. The great improvements in the modes of transit helped the weaver. But the greatest help came from that new great supply of articles from England, for that supply was not only of cloth but of yarn. The provision of material for his work had been one of the great troubles of the weaver. Now he could obtain it very much cheaper. And his own labour was so much cheaper than that of the English mill-hands, the cost of his living so much lower. The new machinery was very effective, but it was very costly also. A man's arm cannot compete with the steam-hammer, but in the throwing of the shuttle it can do as well as steam or electric power—better, by reason of the intelligence guiding and controlling it. And so the weaver and his hand-loom have survived. Weaving is still termed “the greatest of India's industries.”

The census does not afford information on the subject, not dealing with occupations, for reasons assigned, but common observation seems to show that the weavers are increasing in number. In various provinces weavers who had taken to other occupations are returning to the hereditary one. We had thought the Western Goliath

would slay the Eastern David ; but now it is declared by the highest authority, Mr. E. B. Havell, that not only is David holding his own, but that he is likely to give Goliath a bad time of it. But of the future we have to speak farther on, not in this part, as at first intended, but in a separate one, as a more convenient arrangement.

And the making of the roads and railways and canals ; the expansion of our administrative organizations ; the provision of the buildings connected with them ; the production of a great commerce, internal and external ; the enormous development of the mineral resources, as in the case of gold, coal, petroleum ; of valuable agricultural products, as in the case of wheat, tea, jute ; the great increase and diffusion of wealth ; the increase of buying power have had their effect on all the great industries of India as on the supreme one of weaving. They, too, continue and remain ; the workers in the metals, the braziers and the coppersmiths, the silversmiths and the goldsmiths, and the workers in wood and stone and leather, the potters, the dyers, the carpet-makers, the embroiderers, and all the others are there as of yore. And as we hold that all those engaged in the works of construction, of building, have, during the past fifty years, had more and better paid employment than ever before, so are we of opinion that, taken altogether, all the other classes of operatives referred to in the above paragraph are not starving men carrying on dying industries, but the reverse. The survey of the industries of India afforded by the admirable catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition of 1902-03, now before us, does not convey the idea of dying industries, but of very live ones. To receive the impression of liveness fully it is necessary not only to read the descriptive text, but the list of awards, the list of towns, and the various industries carried on in them ; to read the names of the articles ; if names indicate existence there must be no slight quantity of things made. Sir George Watt, the Director of the Exhibition, is no rhapsodist, no spinner of fine sentences,

no pro-Indian or anti-Indian man. He writes with excellent calm, clear judgment, with thought as well as with feeling; he admires and blames duly. Due mention is made of the instances in which Indian industries have suffered, in quantity or quality, by reason of altered circumstances. Changes there have been, as there must be. We ourselves have seen them. We saw the last arrival at Agra of the *budgerow* in which an East-Indian trader used to ply up and down the Ganges and Jumna with his "Europe" goods. We have seen the centres of traffic change; seen small towns on the old Mogul road, by the side of the Ganges and Jumna, decay; new and greater ones rise up on the railway. We have already dwelt on the enormous industrial change that has taken place in the region comprised in the old North-West Provinces, a change from the small to the great. The change has been in the coming of new things, not in the passing away of old.

Looking at all the centres of industry in the great cities or in the small towns of the above-named province, we find this the case; the old special manufactures have lived on, been expanded; new ones have been added to them. There, in Agra, the weavers' quarter remains; the old cloths are still made there; some of the old manufactures, as of carpets and the stone inlaid work, have expanded and improved in design and construction, and many new articles are produced by the new mechanical agencies in mills and factories; there has been a great increase in the population of the place. We remember how one or two special kinds of manufacture ceased in Lucknow on the deposition of the Nawab of Oudh and the disappearance of his Court, and the outcry there was about this, "the destruction of indigenous manufactures." The work affected was purely special and local, connected with the dress of the courtiers, and it gave employment to a very small number of people; it is often forgotten how small many industries are; how few the people concerned in them; there are even one-man, one-family industries.

One of these industries was a variation in the embroidery of shoes; that offshoot was lopped off, but the main stem remained; now, in the Exhibition catalogue we read that Lucknow is one of "the places most famed for artistic shoes." It has plenty of other industries, the products of which are often noted as "superb," "beautiful." Industries have shrunk, then expanded again, often to more than their original size. Take Surat, on one side of the Peninsula. Its trade and commerce and manufactures suffered from natural and political causes—the silting up of the harbour, the rise of Bombay. They have revived again. There is a long list of them in the catalogue: "Surat has recently shown more enterprise than Ahmedabad. A very extensive series of *Kinkhab*s from these ancient seats of the craft is on view at the Exhibition." Surat stands among the "noted centres for calico-printing in the Bombay Presidency."

Take Dacca, on the other side of the Peninsula. Whilst a certain writer bemoaned that "muslin so exquisitely fine that it could scarcely be felt by the touch" was no longer produced there, the fact being that the production of these was at all times very rare, it was at the same time stated that "thirty-six different denominations of cotton cloth were still made" there, and that its embroidered muslins, named *Kasidas*, were in "brisk demand throughout India, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey." Now the city stands in a new country of rich landowners, having in it the new, great, rich city of Calcutta, with its enormous demand for the products of the soil, of the ancient local industries. Looking back over the history of Bengal subsequent to its rule passing into our hands, no vast tract of time, we behold the vicissitude of things, the decline of ancient cities, the dwindling of old marts, the shrinkage of native commerce and industries; and then we behold the rise of the great new mart on the banks of the Hooghly, greater, richer, more populous than all the decayed marts and cities put together, having in it and about it more trade and commerce and

industries than were ever seen in the old "*Bengal hatha*"; we behold the new great kingdom of Bengal, with the great additions made to its agricultural products, the enormous additions made to its industries, by the introduction of new ones using the new Western machinery, by the revival and expansion of old ones.

In the account of the great industrial display, with the numerous expressions of praise and commendation, the occasional delivery of an adverse judgment, by reason of indifferent execution or deterioration of taste, is mention of the profusion of many of the exhibits, and the names of the places in which they were made shows their wide diffusion. The old order remains and the old industries continue with it. The great changes we had expected in both have not come about. The idols have not toppled from their pedestals, and, with our detestation of the idolatry quite unabated, we have now come to think, in our old age, as we should not have done in our youth, "Better so." For toppling means a crash, a smash, a sudden and serious injury. The fall of the idols would mean the destruction of the great industries connected with them, with their construction, and the making of all the numerous vessels and implements and garments used in their worship, the loss of their means of subsistence to millions. We remember the great tumult that was raised at Ephesus against St. Paul by the craftsmen, the silver-smiths and coppersmiths, who "got their wealth" by making shrines for the great Diana of the Ephesians, against whom Paul thundered. A crash in the worship or mode of life of the people would mean a crash in the realms of industry and commerce, and great harm and hurt. The principle of evolution has appeared since the time of our early writings. We accept it for its excellence as well as for its truth. We are now on the side of evolution, not of revolutions.

INDIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY MAJOR J. B. KEITH,

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AT a time when the eyes of the world are directed to many important questions and their momentous issues (of which the existence of the House of Lords is one of the least), and when eloquent lips are pleading the cause of Protection or Tariff Reform, and others, no less eloquently, the cause of Free Trade, I crave to say something on the part of Indian labour and on the merits of our fiscal policy as it affects our great Indian Dependency; and in doing so I trust that the obscurity of the writer will be no bar to his advocacy of Tariff Reform and of a reciprocating fiscal policy for India.

For five-and-thirty years I have held a brief on the part of the Indian toiler—a very thankless one to myself personally—and if I cannot speak with either the authority or eloquence of such distinguished statesmen as Lords Curzon or Cromer, or Lord George Hamilton, I can plead some personal acquaintance with the body whose interests I have for years espoused. Although Lord George was not a whit more unfortunate in his personal experience of India than the many eminent men who have presided over the destinies of that country in Whitehall, such as Lords Cross and Wolverhampton, and the present philosophic Secretary of State, he delivered himself of one truth when he espoused what has been infelicitously called the cause of commercial freedom as it affects India, but without knowing the reason why. He declared that India was an intensely Protectionist country! Had he added that the geographical, climatic, hereditary, and historical environment made Protection a necessity to a non-self-reliant people, his language would have been happier and more apposite than in the mouth of one seduced by the false glamour of the fetish

Free Trade. I am sure that an amiable nobleman will forgive me in pointing out or supplying the omission to his speech when I repeat that Protection is written on every feature of Indian civilization: in the manners, customs, social, industrial, artistic, and religious life of the people. And it is rendered doubly necessary, seeing that the people have no proper representation. We must not deceive ourselves or the public, for the Government of India at this moment—aye the Pax-Britannica, if not quite patriarchal rule—is little better than a parental despotism, and the invariable concomitant or sequel to that form of government, logically speaking, is Protection! India, outside the partition of Bengal, is under an immense obligation to Lord Curzon, not only for his brilliant administration of that country, for his being the first Viceroy to give an enlightened, if somewhat hopeless, encouragement to the arts at the eleventh hour, but, above all, for his pointing out while discerning the unfortunate tendency and danger of an exaggerated and incongruous occidentalism for that country.

I should be the last to decry the merits of the Liberal party in seeking to anticipate the future of India (the possible, if not assumed, destiny), for I am but a modified believer in the supposed outcome of Western ideas for the East—i.e., European education. Nevertheless, if a Nemesis threatens to *bouleverse* or overtake our political economy—one of the first-fruits of increased native agency and representation would be the inevitable return on the part of Native India to a Protectionist policy—I think no small merit is due to those who are paving the way for India's return to her original status of being a self-supporting and self-containing country, without blinding my eyes to the political meaning of that issue, inasmuch as she grew her own cotton, spun her own yarn, smelted her own iron. Virtually she becomes independent of Manchester and Birmingham for her fabrics and ordnance. We may welcome, too, the establishment of engineering and military colleges in India, in lieu of

those so long supported in England, as an economical and just measure. India may look forward to a day when her own people will constitute her best markets. All this I can state without looking to the political consequences—too large a problem for present discussion, and not quite germane to my immediate purpose. Not a little credit of this is due to the Liberal party—if we except its patronage of the *laissez-faire* doctrines of Manchester—but by no means the entire credit. On the other hand, I have no hesitation in saying that, from the very first inception of Western ideas, over which so many writers are jubilant in regard to their success, because they have no philosophical grasp of the subject, the Conservative party have been the true interpreters of both England's and India's wants, because in a deeply conservative country like India—so much so that some parts of it are still in the stone and mediæval periods of history—our radical reforms and precipitancy is attended with great danger. Our analogies, also, are frequently mistimed, as when we look to Japan, lying in a different latitude, and its people freighted with a different energy, and having a very different history. To many the nostrums of the Liberal party exercise an unusual fascination, for, as they apply to India, they have never been properly studied. Nothing is more captivating than to talk of educating the people of India for such luxuries as social, political, military freedom. People whose language take this form forget that liberty under some aspects is but another name for oppression or tyranny. As yet many of them have not realized that India lies in a different physical and mental zone to that of Europe, travels at a different rate, or that what tends to create activity in Europe (see Dr. Draper's "Intellectual Europe") tends to create repose in India. Nothing illustrates this better than the authority of Sir Henry Maine, who tells us (see "Ancient Law") that, when India was in the family or corporate state as regards property, the famed Institutes of Justinian had made individual property and the right of making a will the law of Rome. The great jurist

was not always consistent, for, being a lover of Western ideas and the so-called Aryan culture, as well as "progress," which he declared to appear first with Christianity, had yet the candour to aver in the same classic work that European ideas were misleading.

On my part it may appear to savour of boldness, and yet I may venture to assert that the polity of the Indian Educational Department is both a snare and a delusion, founded on European wants, on Saxon individualism, and in a too close adherence to the Baconian Philosophy ; while ignoring that the pivot of Indian civilization is centred in the Family, with a natural collectivism and socialism, very different to that which the present Liberal Government is seeking to inaugurate in Saxon England. On the merits of that I can have no opinion, notwithstanding that my sympathies are with workmen all over the world, providing that there is no attempt, as in France, to kill the religious spirit, for what a power religion has been all over the world in the history of labour and of civilization ! I am an admirer, as most men ought to be, of the late Charles Pearson's work ("National Life and Character"), and to much that he says about the influence of climate, which I regard as empire. And this without subscribing to his *ipse dixit* about State Socialism. He acknowledges regretfully that the family spirit is falling into decay in Europe, more especially in Latin countries, where it was a virtue, and still continues to be so among the Jews. But, philosophic spirit as he was, he failed to see that the family spirit accounts for the vitality of Chinese and Indian civilizations. Indeed, it is not too much to say that it saved India from extinction. Read what Lord Metcalfe says about the village community ! We have yet much to learn from the East. Besides, the State Socialism now being introduced into England, the habitat of individualism, has many evils in the mock collectivism it is generating ; for, however much we may admire the altruism at which it is aiming, the fear is that it will fill alms and poor-houses and all manner of asylums with a lot

of able-bodied but idle men, who ought to be exercising their muscles for the good of their country, and at the same time it acts as a sort of lodestar or premium to an aggressive and dangerous bureaucracy, now the bane of all countries, but more especially India! Until the family spirit was threatened in India—I may add vitiated—India had no need of European altruism; for the spirit that erected hospitals for animals thousands of years before the advent of Christianity took care, under their family system, to make provision, that no grand aunt should starve, and so was enabled to decline the charity of Government!

Another fact worthy of notice, in these days of attempted assimilation of European and Indian ideas—and this tells against your State Socialism—is that there is nothing the people of India more resent than interference with their family. This prejudice on their part even goes so far that they have become a trouble to sanitary scientists, who, despite their benevolent aims, often carry out their ideas in rather a brusque and ruthless manner. There is another experience known to very few of our countrymen, even the best informed officials, and it is this, a fact paradoxical in face of the caste system: there exists among the people of India a natural Socialism and inter-dependency, arising out of the Hindus dressing in the same way, eating the same food, following the same customs, and living the same simple life in their houses, devoid of costly furniture. Hodge, who breakfasts off a mandrake or the offal of a dust-bin, has no conception of what sort of fare the well-to-do classes in England are heir to; whereas every Indian peasant, agriculturist, and workman, knows that his fare is the same as the Prince.

To continue, however, our presentment: it is a somewhat anomalous fact that, while we are doing much to improve the position of the European toiler, and even to the extent of providing him with old age pensions, we have, outside an increase of wages in some cases, done little to improve either the position of the agriculturist or

artisan, unless we think that the destruction of his home, community, or guild, is an advantage. To me the fact is as anomalous or ironical as our effort to destroy the natural collectivism of India, a country that requires something of the kind ; while the tendency of English legislation is to promote it in England, where it is an exotic plant ! The Indian workman is more or less of a helpless entity—a perfect child, if I may so use the expression—who lives in groups, thinks collectively, speaks collectively, and acts collectively. Isolation is as foreign and hateful to him as it is agreeable to the Anglo-Saxon, who lived in detached hamlets at the dawn of his civilization, and on whom all the advantages of parish councils are often thrown away. Co-operate work in the Hindu sense he does not understand, and syndicates in industry are generally worked by bosses ! Very different is the case with the Hindus, whom you meet in the courtyard of the palace, in the temple, at the immemorial fair, in the workshops, but always in groups. And it is a part of his religion, as well as his philosophy, to discount solitude ; consequently, however commendable may be the refrain of the English schoolmaster, be it Smiles (in his “ Self-Help ”) or the Government resolutions issued by a former Government Secretary, recommending self-help and private enterprise, we must take human nature and national character as we find it. Our political economy in India, whether it deals with land settlement, taxation, collection of revenue, fiscal policy, wages, capitalism, or the organization of labour, is based on a system as little adapted to the wants of India as an architectural building by a European architect, which fails to interpret or voice the thoughts of native art, and becomes virtually an emasculated building. The manual of John Stuart Mill, which is simply a rehash and an inferior one of Adam Smith, is simply out of place in the country, nor do we think the more philosophic works of Jevons and Marshall suitable. The treatise of Professor Devas, of Stoneyhurst College, goes nearer to Indian wants, and he has a proper apprecia-

tion of family necessity. India urgently requires a new economical manual.

I very much regret that Lord Curzon, whose memorable criticism on the Indian Councils Bill will not be forgotten, for he asked the pertinent question, What representation have the masses of India? and in a subsequent speech at Oldham, on quite another problem, referred to the advantages of hereditary industry in that country. I wish he had improved the occasion more, not only in regard to our fiscal policy in that country, but in regard to the hereditary principle, not only in the matter of industry, but in the holding of office. Obviously, I cannot enter upon it here, for it opens up a large controversy in which Herbert Spencer, Weismann, Galton, Ribot, Bain, and many others, have taken part. One remark, however, I may make: M. le Play, the great French economist, pointed out its benefit to industry and art, while I can fearlessly state that the sapping of this principle, together with the absorption of the industrial arts into our factory system, has been their veritable and irreparable destruction! I say nothing of the monopoly exercised by the large capitalist over the small one in a country with an abnormal population, and where it is of the first importance to distribute subsistence over as large an area as possible. This is as perplexing a subject as the operations of mechanical development in a country where Nature and the genius of the Hindus adapt itself to manual labour in the same way as the genius of the American dovetails in with the incarnate machine, which is utterly unable to supply an art product with the love and devotion that formerly, in days of old, inspired the creations of art and communicated to it a soul. The modern factory, however excellent and requisite for utilitarian and indispensable industries, as distinguished from luxuries, cannot give the excellence to art, or give the same moral aspiration as of old. It is not a pleasant sight seeing crowds of idlers hanging listlessly about in expectation of the six o'clock bell! English art schools—and they

are an anomalous institution in India, seeing its people can teach us—if not without merit in supplying hints, have the demerit of a crystallization system, absolutely fatal to the long chain of local industries, which formerly adorned India, and were unknown to the same extent in any other country, such as Egypt, Babylon, or China, and in no land in the West on the same scale.

But before I quit heredity, I would like Sir Francis Galton, who is now making interesting experiments, to assist me in the solution of one question I would pose. When reviving a Guild of Stone-Carvers in 1880 in Gwalior, I employed a number of boys in the preparation of the Gwalior Gateway, now at South Kensington. One of these, a lad of barely twelve years of age, and with nothing but a charcoal pencil, covered an architrave with beautiful arabesques, and such was the correctness of the drawing that it was not one-twentieth of an inch out. Now, I want to know whether this was due to heredity or environment, or whether the one is synonymous of the other. To establish a distinction seems to me to be arguing in a circle. A still more important consideration we have to bear in mind in what has been recently, but not happily, called "the transfer of Indian industry," by a gentleman whose name I forget, and before the Arts Association in London. A certain amount of modification in the ways of Indian industry—not a radical transformation—is but a necessary sequel to the industrial revolution of Europe during the last century, but I would beg of our friends to remember one thing: India is not only an unrepresented, but a conquered, country, in which there is as yet no healthy public opinion. Beware, therefore, of turning the country into a bear garden! But, returning to our fiscal policy in India, and which occupies the chief place in my criticism, all civilizations, from Egypt to the United States, have resorted to some form of protection in the course of their history, otherwise they could not have fostered young industries. The wonderful advance Egypt made in all the

arts during the early Dynasties was due to it, and where would England be but for the silver streak of sea that separates it from the Continent of Europe? That Protection is no longer available in the presence of the science of to-day. Bar Holland, nearly every Continental country in Europe has adopted Protection. But for it, the vast wealth that has fallen into the coffers of the United States of recent years would not have been available. And if there was any country in the world that might have been expected to dispense with it, the United States was the one. That country owns an unsurpassed geographical position, lying between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and commanding the trade-routes on both sides, while in a measure relieved from the responsibilities of Europe. It has no army worthy of the name to maintain, and no great establishments in its civil Government to support, while taxation does not fall heavily on the people. What a contrast in all this does not India present! She, too, is a Continental country, but, unlike America, has lain coterminous to powerful neighbours, and has always been a prey to their attacks and conquests, which in past history made her externally weak in her external defence. Happily, under the laws of compensation, her internal institutions were strong—in other words, her political economy was a wise adaptation to national character. Taxation described under the laws of Manu was equable on the principle of collectivism, not on that of individualism, the principle we have of late years adopted in taxing the city trader. A record, or rather a relic, of the old system survives in the levying of city octroi duties. Here a "handful" is taken out of each sack.

Protection remained the fiscal policy of India down to a late period in the history of the East India Company. Then the trade monopolies and stupendous fortunes made by its officers raised such a protest, especially on the part of what has been called the Manchester School, that the home authorities superseded the policy of Protection for

one of Free Trade. I am far from defending the selfish political economy of the East India Company, which gave no protection to the workmen, whose services, if they did not constitute a species of slave labour, almost amounted to something of the kind! The European employers in indigo factories, gave no adequate remuneration for labour, either skilled or unskilled, and a very opposite system was introduced to the old organization of labour under the halcyon days of Hindu civilization. In those happy times, more especially the Buddhist Period, which lasted from 600 B.C. until A.D. 900, there were neither landlords nor capitalists, a condition not unlike that existing in China, if I am not misinformed, until late times. But it is a mistake to imagine, as a writer did some years ago (I think it was Mrs. Rhys Davids) in an admirable article on Indian political economy in ancient times, that land was held pretty much on the principle—*i.e.*, of peasant proprietors—such as we find in Switzerland. Of both India and Switzerland I have some experience, and feel assured, bearing in mind the difference in natural character caused by climate, that a Hindu could never have paid his rent under a system of individual proprietorship. As is well known, a Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, introduced a system of landlordism in Bengal, and I regret to say this baneful system has taken root in many parts of India, not only in Oude, where there are what is known as Talukdars, but in other parts of the North-West Provinces, where there are big landlords. The origin of his lordship's innovation was, that he imagined that the feudal system in India was the same as that in England. Nor is he to be wholly blamed for an error that has caused incalculable mischief when we find the classic author of the annals of Tangasthan describing the feudal system of Europe as derived from India. As regards Indian capitalism, this is a system entirely of our régime, and introduced in recent times. It was the practice of the ancient Sovereigns of India, during Hindu supremacy, to set apart a portion of their revenue

for the benefit of workmen, so that labour and capital were treated as identical, and never came into collision. I am indebted for this information to an able work on Capitalism by the Marquis de Pareto, the able Professor of Political Economy in Lausanne. The result of India's excellent economical system in ancient times was its great external trade under the Buddhist rule, called the "Indian Trade," and which gave birth to the phrase, "The wealth of Ormus and of Ind." Out of it were erected the great cities of Baalbek and Palmyra in the desert. To overlook India's prosperity in those far-off days as the part outcome of India's political economy, or the wisdom of its interior institutions, would be a grave error. Enough, however, if I recall that it was very great and amply borne out by the lithic record, and by the existence of great and populous Indian cities. It is no little tribute to that prosperity to record that India, after clothing and feeding her people, was enabled to erect those great monuments which do honour to the Buddhist Period. Of the many Satrapies of Darius, India was the only one which could afford to pay her tribute in gold to him. I do not for a moment contest the great wealth that has been evolved, and is daily increasing under the restless energy of British rule; but the great drawback to it is, that comparatively little of it goes into the hand of the producer, be he agricultural or artisan. The old prosperity of India was based on the sound principle which I have often seen accentuated in the economy of the United States, and which is, that after clothing and feeding your own people, then of your surplus abundance give to the stranger.

Nor were exports multiplied on the reprehensible practice of depleting a country exposed to periodical famine and plague of its foodstuffs! The chief items of export were those renowned "art industrial fabrics," which I have referred to as being destroyed or falling under the dominion of the machine. But I must not linger over the past, but return to the present. Naturally, with the rise of

European industry and the discovery of new countries and new sources of wealth, a great change took place in the fortunes of India. And, coming down to our own times, the industrial revolution of Europe gave the Western hemisphere a great advantage over our Indian Dependency. The balance of trade changed, and, aided by the principles of Cobden's vision of commercial freedom, which the world has never accepted, the West was enabled for a time to flood India with products, many of which are not required, as that sagacious Indian statesman, Sir Thomas Munro, pointed out, and the Indian workshop was virtually closed. Thanks both to the Liberal and Conservative parties, it has been reopened, but what is called Free Trade, not Fair Trade, has given the West an undue advantage over India. I say nothing about the principle, although it is a very questionable one, of forbidding India to raise its own import duties. Racial considerations and the political control may be urged in defence of such a measure, while, on the other hand, it may be righteously contended that, if India had this privilege, she would still be a very wealthy country, instead of considerable areas being exposed to a chronic state of poverty. There is no reason why India should remain poor. Her industrial resources are immense, and the simple lives of the people expose them to no unusual expenditure. They have no expensive dress, no expensive food, no extravagant furniture in their houses, and, outside marriage feasts, which do not come to much, or the expenses incidental to death ceremonies, they have no outlay to encounter, so that it becomes the veriest paradox on the part of officials at Simla and Whitehall to characterize their poverty as a natural one! Free Trade has been greatly abused in India, and, outside the importation of machinery free of duty into India, I can see no argument that can be urged in its defence. To the claims of our own operatives in England I am not insensible, and in the past they have had my full sympathy, although I think now they are receiving more than their due share of

attention, and this to the detriment of their Indian brethren. With the aid of our parliamentary system and the long lease of power enjoyed by the Liberal party, the Manchester School were enabled to see their opinions prevail. The competitive trade, or rather a system of unjust competition, was launched upon India, with all its drawbacks. And the advocate of this landed system, which gave a free hand to the middleman and speculator in Europe, could see no harm in the stranger farming the agriculturist or ryot's land, or purchasing his crops months before it was harvested. All this time India had no representative in England, unless we think two Parsee gentlemen (not Hindus), Mr. Narojee and Sir V. Bhownaggee, representing European or English constituencies, adequate representatives for 300 millions of Indian people. It is only within the last year or two that there has been any native representation upon the Indian Secretary of State's Council, and he is no representative of Indian workmen, but a Government nominee! Among the eloquent advocates for Free Trade in India, it is only just to cite Lord Cromer, now regarded in many quarters as one of the bulwarks of the Empire. No one will dispute his services to India as Financial Minister, more especially in the development of railways and in the importation of European capital. From an Imperial point of view he has strengthened our hold on India, and deserves English gratitude. If any objection can be made to the services of so eminent a statesman, it may be said that he saw everything through occidental spectacles, and this, in the eyes of not a few, has constituted the strength as well as the weakness of his brilliant Egyptian administration. In the interests of Indian workmen I should be the last to wish any decrease in the number of European employers of labour, and for reasons I will presently give; but I cannot help observing in a spirit of fair play that the outcome of Lord Cromer's influence in India was to throw Indian industry entirely into the hands of Europeans, and he did little to encourage native capital!

Now the danger is quite in another direction, for industry is passing into the hands of natives, who can live for a fraction of what it costs Europeans. My apprehension in the matter arises from my distrust of the "native individual," either as a landlord or employer of labour. He is an excellent man inside the community, but individualism he does not understand, and there would be the fear of his exploiting his countrymen.

I will recur to this subject almost immediately, but, not to quit Free Trade, I should like to know what Lord Cromer thinks at this distance of time of the attitude assumed by his late relative, Lord Northbrook, when Viceroy, towards our fiscal policy? Although implored by the late Sir George Campbell, the then able administrator of Bengal, to prohibit the exportation of foodstuffs in a season of dire famine, with thousands dying of starvation, he turned a deaf ear to the appeal of the Lieutenant-Governor, himself an advanced Radical! A free hand was given to the Bania or Indian usurer, with full permission to secrete his grain and sell it to famished countrymen at famine prices. And unless my memory fails me, grain was re-imported into India, and sold at an enhanced price to the people. I have surely reached the straw that breaks the camel's back. A word or two now about the native individual, and of whom I have as wholesome a distrust as the Indian legislator who framed the Indian Constitution and formed the people into communities and classes. In so doing he understood his countrymen far better than we do, and this in the interests of safeguarding social tranquillity. As well known, power lies in an unequal balance in an Oriental land, where there is a great temptation to abuse it. A venal police will not stop bribery or corruption, and whatever good may result from factory inspection on the part of Government, nothing outside a proper organization of labour, on a community or guild basis, where the individuals forming the community have a proper watch on each other, will prevent abuses. A former Government Secretary in Agriculture, Sir Edward

Buck, whom, I think, gave too great an impetus to "private enterprise" in Government resolutions, has, since his retirement, in frequent visits to India, bemoaned an organization called the "Swadeshi Industry in Bengal," and under which the native bosses have a free hand to exploit their countrymen. The present Secretary of State, Lord Morley, is, I am convinced, most anxious to do the people of India justice, and from a philosophic point of view, regardless of party. No one knows better than his lordship that, without representation of some kind, taxation becomes a snare and a delusion. Through a species of administrative suicide we have destroyed, or, to say the least, impaired, that famous Village community which secured a perfect autonomy to each Indian village. It was an institution felicitously described by De Tocqueville in his work on "American Democracy" as a universal product planted by the hand of God. And Sir Henry Maine, if, in the glamour he imparted to the village community of India, failed to recognize the non-Aryan community more instinctive with liberty than the Aryan, and this through his racial prejudices, he fully recognized that this prehistoric institution, if not founded by the Aryans, had survived in India, and in India alone, in its comparative purity. Elphinstone, indeed, in one of the best histories we possess of India, has recorded that its ancient civilization was not a despotism, like that of Asia, which was a witness to Assyrian and Persian barbarities—I might call them monstrosities—but he failed to see why India maintained its ancient liberty of the "village community." And liberty, I may add, is not modern, as many suppose. Among other things we owe to Sir Henry Maine, with some doubtful assertions about progress in his ancient law, is that the primitive tribes had a far higher idea of morality than their predecessors, and this remark has been supported by another encyclopædic scholar, Dr. Robertson Smith, in his "History of the Semites."

The village community was intensely popular in India

because it conserved the family spirit of devotion to ancestors; and to this devotion another philosophic observer, the Abbé Dubois, in his "*Manners and Customs of the Hindus*," has observed we may rely for their knowledge of artistic concepts pertaining to architecture as well as to social phenomena. The village community was the Home and birthplace of the industrial arts, and an institution which generated both trades and guilds. But it had a still higher attribute, for it conserved and handed down in India alone aboriginal ideas of justice; and without justice, in his Chinese history, M. Simoni has remarked, "there can be no liberty." This faculty was long preserved, and Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador at the Court of Patna 250 B.C., has noted that in his time "the Hindus were an honest and truthful people." It would be affectation to say that they continue to be so at this hour, and we have no hesitation in saying that their decadence in manners and morality is largely due to the destruction of indigenous institutions.

With unerring instinct, Montesquieu saw that, however superior Christianity might be to the faith of the Chinese, the one paramount difficulty in the way of missionaries consisted in their placing themselves in direct opposition to the habits, manners, and customs of the people, every one of which is associated with the family. He saw that as clearly as the Chinese philosopher Confucius himself, who saw in the conservation of ancient manners and customs the preservation of the nation's vitality. And whatever we have done to develop the material resources of India, no unprejudiced or reflecting mind can assert that Western civilization has raised the morality of the country; and it has been worthy of remark that candid Directors of the Public Instruction, like Dr. Duncan, late of Madras, have bewailed the fact themselves. Men acquainted with ancient civilizations—at least, many of them—know the value attached to justice, the scales of which, evenly balanced, may be seen at the judgment-seat of the Egyptian Osiris, on Japanese paintings, and engraved in letters of gold in one of the

beautiful marble buildings of the Moslem Emperor Shajehan at Delhi. But very few are aware that in India, and nowhere else, may be found the primitive or aboriginal jury. I have frequently met it myself in my walks during the short twilight of an Indian evening, or the hour we know in Scotland by the picturesque name of the "gloaming." And before the jury are seated in a magic circle (everything in India is symbolic) I have noticed a criminal arraigned before his peers. This was the family tribunal, and as the family organization was the parent of the village community, the trades union or guild, we find the jury system enshrined right through every community of India. And when we think of the efforts made of recent years to confer autonomy on British villages, we may deplore the mischief done to India by those who have deprived the people of their birthright, and all for the purpose of foisting on the country an incongruous individualism. As a guild institution and educator, the main object of which was, in the language of Mr. A. Froude the historian, "to insure fair dealings between man and man," the Indian guild jury had the happiest results. I may even say more, and declare that in the moral education it imparted it may be justly contrasted with the entire absence of moral instruction pursued in Indian industrial instruction by the European Educational Department at this hour, one of the main points in the old instruction being the respect for elders. Our lamentable deficiency in this respect has been pointed out to me by several Orientals visiting Europe, including Hindus, Chinamen, and Persians, for the want of it is opposed to all their family teaching. I am not the only one who has been impressed with the family court in India, seeing that in 1860 Chief Justice Sir Lumsden Strange published a most valuable folio with opinions from some of the greatest names of the Indian services, including Warren Hastings, Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Strachey, Mr. Shore, Mr. Justice Holloway, etc., all regretting the abolition of the family or lower court of justice;

for, constituting, as it did, a homestead jury, its decisions commanded universal respect, and have never been appealed against; whereas the court that has been substituted in its place, and presided over by an individual judge, has been a premium to endless litigation, to bribery and corruption, and the very opposite of an economical asset. Often when a witness has been found perjuring himself in Calcutta before an English court, the remark has been overheard, "You would not dare to do that before the Panchazet!"

Before I offer a few remarks on Lord Morley's reforms and Council Bills in the interest of workmen, be they agriculturists or artisans, I wish to preface what I have to say on this head by some observations on industrial education. No doubt the scheme in force, as it affects agriculture, irrigation, and forestry, commands general approval, whether met by engineering colleges or agricultural and forest schools. The chief criticism they provoke is the great expense they entail. If they have multiplied production on a large scale and help to swell the export trade, it is a matter of regret that they have not done more to raise the material welfare of the masses or give increased employment. All readers, too, interested in agriculture would do well to read the very valuable criticisms of Professor Robert Wallace, of Edinburgh University, in a work of his dedicated to Indian agriculture, and supplemented by some very forcible criticisms by Voelcker, another English expert. I am not a specialist, but believing that there is a great deal to be said for indigenous methods, whether for agriculture or horticulture, I heartily commend Professor Wallace's strictures. I can understand our efforts to improve agriculture frequently carried too far in the direction of high farming, but I cannot believe that Hindu civilization knew nothing about farming or, rather, agriculture, seeing that the people had lived on the land for many thousand years, and are intimately acquainted with the soil, with the rotation of crops, while introducing some very valuable and economical methods in the matter of well-irrigation. They worked

with a plough well adapted to a light soil, whereas our attempt to use a heavy European plough proved abortive. Further, as might be expected, they were more conversant with the temperament of Indian horses and cattle and their ailments than ourselves.

The Indian Forest Department has added greatly to the revenues of the Indian Government, but, seeing that they have written so much on the destruction of forests under native governments, which is a manifest exaggeration, when we consider how natives worshipped trees, and that they were used for all manner of purposes, such as timber architecture, we hope that they have put an end to the deforesting by Europeans, which another Wallace, Dr. Alfred, the celebrated naturalist, has deprecated as injuring the climatic influence in order to promote factories. Against the Forest Department there have been other complaints, one of which is that it infringes on the rights of the village community by appropriating wood that ought to belong to the villagers. European botany, whether described by De Candolle or any other scientist, is a valuable acquisition; but it is to be observed that the Indian Department have never discovered a fibre, dye, or drug unknown to Hindu civilization, and there are not a few men who, admiring the beautiful gardens that surround the Agra Taj, Cawnpore, and Saharanpure, have still something to say for the Shalimar Gardens near Lahore, which are in the native style. The art came to India from Babylon, but greatly improved by the Mahomedans.

In industrial education there are many things to note, the first and primary one being that the steam factory is already killing those beautiful hand and art industries which were once the glory of India and a joy and contentment of every village. All the loom power in existence, aided by the most perfect machinery, can never reproduce a Chanderi or Arni muslin. These webs of woven wind, as the poetic Oriental called them, are delights of the past; and what are called schools of design, a most expensive

auxiliary, cannot impart to them the beauty and individuality of a past day ; the most they can do is to reproduce some stereotyped and lifeless machine copy. It has been found possible to keep some hand industries, such as wood, stone, and iron carving, as well as seal engraving, outside the factory, and if Hindu Sovereigns and men in position would unite, there might still be a market for the productions of the hand. In fact, the machine ought to be reserved for what is strictly utilitarian, such as the manufacture of cotton or piece goods, calicoes, woollen, and jute products ; but I am convinced that the hint is thrown away, and it is equally futile to expect Viceroys or Lieutenant-Governors, any more than Indian Princes, to give assistance in the matter, notwithstanding that their assistance would be valuable if they made their palaces and houses typical of the arts of a neighbourhood. The machine cannot turn out real artistic products, such as wood and stone carving, or works of beauty in iron, copper, brass, or silver ware. Nevertheless, it is significant that, notwithstanding the development of industry in other countries, such as Japan, in Europe, and America, Germany being ablaze with factories, there is a great demand for fabrics in India, verifying a prediction of mine years ago, that India's hope lay in the resuscitation of her home market, and in her own people becoming her best customers. I am told that Nagpore resembles, at the present moment more a district in our own Midlands or in Germany, and is crowded with Parsee capitalists, who are Princes among Indian middlemen. They are making, I hear, great fortunes, despite a rise in the price of skilled labour, and, what is still more wonderful, if true, the amount of labour absorbed and the demand for it is so great that there is a talk of stopping emigration. This is a revolution, if true, for it was declared, on the authority of a Census Commissioner, Mr. E. Baines, that the factory could not absorb a fraction of available Indian labour !

Eventually India, despite the premium offered by allowing much merchandise to be landed in the country

free of duty from Europe and America, ought to be able to arrest many foreign imports. In the hands of natives factories ought to be worked at a greatly reduced cost. To me the most important phase or phases of the new condition of affairs is the employment of native capital and the installation of native individual capitalists as employers of labour or owners of factories, for I regard this as a danger to industrial peace. I am not likely to forget that a body of artisans, who were the most submissive and loyal of workmen when I was associated with them, gentle and patient to a fault, not only threw stones and staves at their employers, but within the last few years were the chief among Bombay anarchists.

What a parody this is on the remark of Mr. Baines, the Census Commissioner, only two censuses ago: "Happily such questions as capital and labour have not arisen in India"! No! and there was no occasion that such should be the case, but for the determination of Government to transfer Western ideas *en bloc* to India, forgetting that the Eastern Peninsula is not Europe! I repeat that Indian workmen were, in my time, a well-affected body to our rule, and so long as the great body of toilers remain on our side—*i.e.*, the despised masses—we could afford to laugh at the ravings of an aggressive and pampered minority, a mere fraction of the Indian people bankering after a political power and European representative institutions for which they are not fit. I use this language regretfully, for I admire the literary and philosophic insight of the Bengalee, while not oblivious of the fact that they have in past history never contributed a workman or soldier to the Indian State! Nay, more. I am prepared to admit that we made foolish promises to them at the time of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, more than fifty years ago, and to those who have never studied Indian national character, the outcome of situation, climate, food, etc. (John Stuart Mill says climate is half the temperament of a people), our attitude to those people seems

something like an anachronism! The Government of India must not persuade themselves, as they have lately done, that national character can be educated by an exotic Western education. I esteem the people of India, and, without remuneration, have worked in their behalf; but show me a single native at this hour who, on European lines, is able to fill the post of Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief, or Lieutenant-Governor. I use the expression "European lines" advisedly, for I allow that Akbar is far the greatest man that has ever ruled India! Let me, however, hie back to workmen, and I beg to be excused if I repeat myself in re-echoing an opinion, often voiced by retiring Proconsuls and Indian Commanders-in-Chief, "If the great body of the Indian people, composed of agriculturists and workmen, became disaffected to British rule, in a conquered country like India, our people could not hold India for one hour! Visionaries are preaching unity and denouncing the old constitution of Hindu civilization, which we find in the classes or caste system, described by Robertson and Dubois as the great safeguard of social tranquillity! Destroy this, and it will be, I repeat, impossible to hold India for one hour, if the people defended the country village by village, not even if you had a military chief with the brain and genius of Napoleon. In all gravity, therefore, I say that Indian workmen are deserving or worthy of the greatest solicitude, for they were the authors of Hindu civilization, and discovered the products of the country and their properties, a discovery most falsely attributed to Brahmans. Recent disaffection, therefore, demands that we modify our system of individual proprietors, take our cue from the past, and reorganize a system of labour adapted to national character. You must re-establish a brotherhood of co-proprietors, composed chiefly of workmen, with labour coincident with capital; not an army of individual proprietors, or those anomalous European and American syndicates of labour, with "bosses" to manipulate them. You may have paid individual agency

to supply hints, but the organization of labour must be on a Community or Guild basis, in every sense a co-operative body with co-operative rights, not those we find in European stores.

An attempt on the part of Government to establish State Socialism would be at once resisted in India, for, as I stated before, all the ideas of the Indian people are centred in the family—the gauge of its manners, habits, and customs, the measure of its laws, arts, morals, religion, and philosophy. At the same time Government might transfer a monopoly of the solicitude they are now bestowing on Bengalees and disaffected University graduates to the toiling multitudes of India, and so remove our reproach of being a class Government! Why all this solicitude or playing into the hands of a fractional body of professionals, lawyers, etc., who in recent times have been better treated than under any native Government? They have absolutely no expenses, often avoid just taxation, and in British territory are paid at a rate far in excess of the market price! If these gentlemen desire higher education, they can well afford to pay for it themselves. And when on this topic one ought to remember that, despite the teaching of the Baconian or inductive sciences, which has been going on for a long time, the people of the East, not even the Japanese, however adaptive, have made a single discovery! Why, therefore, this indecent haste of fitting up University laboratories with all sort of scientific apparatus before the chickens are hatched? Experimental science does not suit the hesitating national character of the Indian people, for it amounts to pessimism, nor to minds so long accustomed to deductive methods. On the other hand, if the money thus thrown away on higher education was transferred to the assistance of artisans, and more attention was paid on the economical problem, both the people of India and the British Government would gain. Industrial education, I regret to think, must proceed on the lines of mechanical development; but I can never forget what Le Play, the great French economist

said, that the only country where he found industrial peace was Russia, because it was minus the machine, and this remark might apply to parts of mountainous Switzerland, and where vineyards are found along the shores of peaceful Lake Lemman.

The laborious Swiss peasant, be he man or woman, is a refreshing sight, and I wish that the operations of the great motive power of social disturbance and strife could be curtailed in India, the land pre-eminently of manual labour. But, while saying so, I acknowledge that in a country that has become poor, not from want of natural endowments, but from a false distribution of produce, and our playing into the hands of middlemen, who, to use the words of the late Sir Richard Burton, "live on the sweat of other people's brow," the machine is not without recommendation. It reduces the cost of production and admits of a large return for capital invested, as one sees in the case of the rich Parsees, now found in every portion of India. The temptation, however, to abuse cheap labour is so great that Government, both in its own interest and that of its subjects, ought to intervene to protect workmen, this being the duty of a paternal despotism, where there is personal rule, and so get rid of a platitude, admirable in Europe, but often out of place in India, "Help yourself and God will help you." To show how deeply the patriarchal system has been engraved on the mind of the people of India, with its spirit of co-operation and interdependency, in contrast to the English feudal one foisted on the country, I may quote an old Indian proverb, "The sheep which was the joint property of two persons was deserted and died." There is no reason why Government should not advance capital to Indian workmen, as native governments did under Hindu civilization, nor why the interests of investors should not to be as safe in their hands as in that of a body of individual employers of labour or mock European syndicates! Again, education may be pursued with all the advantages of technical instruction so necessary for building

railway machines, and with the aid of chemists and mineralogists, but without launching into adulterants for food and other articles, so much advertised in Europe and America, under the plea of its being an economical advantage! The immemorial habits of the Hindus veto such a thought, nor do we want the introduction of mineral dyes to destroy clothes, under the pretence of cheapness, in a land plentifully supplied with vegetable substances. In securing a beautiful white colour, it is much safer to rely on the bleaching virtues of an Indian stream than on appliances that destroy clothes, like those used in French laundries, and susceptible of communicating disease.

The Indian Government, at great expense, has lately been appointing factory inspectors, who are to control the operations of Bombay sweaters, and see that "leather is sound and well tanned, measures honest, flour unmixed with devil's dust." In order, however, to attain this we must get back to the medieval guild, to a period so much abused by progressive historians, like Michelet, Taine, and Macaulay, who represent the poor of that period as on a "dunghill," which is a false representation, unsupported by authorities such as Hume and Froude. That was an age of faith in both hemispheres, and religion must be restored to industry if we are to have honesty. In India the penalties for bad measure were much greater than in Europe, for to confiscation were added stripes! It strikes me that if we got back to the ideal of the medieval guild, which cultivated real art and established communities of workers, we might far better trust to their vigilance than to expensive European inspectors. In addition to this, I think technical education ought to be conducted under guild auspices, for our European Education Department, who have no personal acquaintance with Indian workshops, could not improve on an Indian system which saw young men join an association of their elders at a time when the vision is most curious and bright, and when the ear is most attentive and receptive. Verbal and collective instruction

was also the soul of the Indian guild. On another point I do not see that railway workshops ought to have a separate organization, and distinct from that of the factory, in which I would establish the guild principle. There is one item, however, regarding which I am quite prepared to expect opposition. Under the plea of liberty, and, as I think, a false economy, Government has been encouraging private missionary and other agency in the interests of industrial education. Now, while, with some qualification, I honour the efforts of missionaries, who have done a great deal more—especially for waifs, against whom the family in both hemispheres has often acted prejudicially and tyrannically—I am against the principle of private industrial instruction in India, for in the past it has been too often, as the late Sir Erskine Perry observed, a plea for kidnapping and religious proselytism. Moreover, I saw its evil effects in one community started at Agra, nor do I think that money which might be devoted to a regular workshop under Government auspices is judiciously spent on capitation grants for the endeavours of private enterprise in education.

On this point I expect my opinion to be discounted, for, under the guise of liberty, Saxon civilization encourages individualism and private enterprise whenever she can, her present polity in England leaning towards State Socialism, and collectivism being an exception to her rule. And she goes upon the principle that what is good for one country is good for another, and that is scarcely right. On the merits of individualism and collectivism, I do not pretend to determine, but believe that both can be maintained and overlap each other for the benefit of a people, and I find this was the case, even in Indian guilds, where there were art-designers who guarded against stereotyped copies. The subject of individual and corporate property caused an encounter between Sir Henry Maine and Mr. Herbert Spencer, in which the latter seems to have had much the best of the argument, for civilization assuredly commenced with individual property. In its early period civilization

is naturally individualistic, for new countries with boundless horizons, like that of India, minister to enthusiasm and enterprise. The pioneers of industry were unfettered by laws, and population was scant. All civilizations bear witness to this rule, including Egypt and Babylon. The same will be the case eventually in the United States of America—a youthful country, but at present intoxicated with individualism *in excelsis*. A time comes, however, when population increases, as it must have done under the abundance of India, with a favourable climate and soil, to say nothing of those religious ideas incidental to ancestral worship, with the longing for children and continuance of race. The imposition of necessary laws and also the effects of climate would have tended to diminish somewhat the vigour of emigrants coming from, say, a Trans-Himalayan country. There is an old saying that “the early bird gets the worm,” and it is true of nations as of individuals, that energy and individualism is most rampant in their youth. Nay, all the more notable discoveries of the Hindus, regarding vegetable, animal, and mineral wealth, were achieved in the morning of life. As civilization progresses, there are times when there is, as it were, an upheaval against the family, and this took place in India when Buddha revolted against caste. His ancestors came from the North (were, according to my idea, Scythians), and it is maintained by some that he was not unfavourable to family ideas, but was opposed to corporate property. I have always questioned this representation, and, from what I know of Hindu civilization, believe that in the great moral teacher we have a blending of all that is good in the community and individual. But it is a point outside the limits of this article. The sage was too good a Hindu to disturb Hindu civilization and its constitution, and, if art in his time, as illustrated by monuments, boasted a high level of individualism, he never interfered with the community. Guilds of workmen (carpenters) were as prominent in his day as they were in the medieval era.

We may pass over the individualism found in Egypt, China, Babylon, among the Jews and with the Greeks, noting that the European Renaissance in Italy, which saw the revival of letters, was a reaction after a long period of stagnation and slumber. Then everyone was up and doing, for it was one of the brightest periods of science and discovery. The Protestant Reformation was another instance of a reaction or upheaval after a certain amount of stagnation, and so, too, the French Revolution; for the French people, like all Latin nations, were warmly attached to the family, so much so that I have heard an English professor say of M. Taine, "How he hates the individual!" The French may have adopted republicanism, but in their taxation and legislation they are not half so progressive as the Saxon. I have not, in these few observations, paused to consider how far the climate aids ideas, but with Montesquieu and Taine I think it may be traced largely in Saxon civilization, in its manners, customs, industries, and art, in its social life as well as its philosophy. We see it in the independence of character as well as in the love of progress and improvement which distinguishes the Saxon, and it is the striking note or key to the whole Baconian philosophy. With Bacon guilds were but fraternities of evil.

I now come to the last consideration of the plea for political representation to Indian workmen. Our Liberal statesmen may deny it, but their policy in India is an attempted assimilation of Indian and European ideas, and if men like John Stuart Mill and Lord Morley have repudiated English representative institutions, with an eventual assembly in India, like the British Parliament, they cannot deny that they have tentatively been giving the people a political education with this goal in view. In their hearts they may see how impossible the aim is in the light of difference of national character and history, but, having gone so far, they feel that they cannot in consistency recede. The late anarchy in India may have had its inspira-

tion in the victories of Japan over Russia, and, if so, the people of India, as I have expressed the opinion elsewhere, have made a great mistake; for the Japanese, by accomplishing within a short decade events more astounding than the rebuilding of Chicago by the Americans twice in a short period, have proved themselves to be a phenomenal people. Their country not only lies in a different latitude from India, but the Japanese possess an adaptability quite foreign to Hindu character. The recent ferment in India may be also due to the unrest which we find spreading all over the East, with an upheaval of nationalism in many Oriental countries from China to Egypt. It is not due, as many suppose, to a love of Western ideas—for Hindus are attached, above all things, to their ancestral customs, to their own literature and arts—but to a craving after independence, which they believe they may attain through Western methods and science. United with this is the conscious pride that the East originally gave Europe its civilization, and holding to the Oriental proverb which sees "the wheel ever on the move," and every spoke coming uppermost in turn, they believe that the tide is turning in their favour. Whatever the belief may be, an exaggerated European education has brought it about; but, instead of causing an assimilation, it has created a breach or gulf between natives of India and Europeans. All men will applaud Lord Morley for seeking to pacify troubled spirits, but in his Councils Bill, if he will forgive me for saying so, he aims at enfranchizing a minority at the expense of the masses, and of proceeding by devolution instead of evolution. Now, whatever evils the caste system may have had in preventing a workman from rising in the social scale—evils compensated in more ways than one—it did not go in for class in our sense, nor did it create discontent. The majority of hereditary craftsmen have no towering ambition, like that of an Aberdonian, nor can they change their craft like that of an American in the Civil War, for he traversed many occupations, from that of tavern-keeper and pastor to colonel. I think it a misfortune that Lord

Morley's scheme gives no real representation to workmen, while it enables the men, or natives, translated to the Supreme Council, to exercise unequal power. An agricultural landlord, like a talukdar in Oude, has, of course, a vote in the Provincial Council, but not so his tenant.

Under our municipal system in India, which has neither the advantages of a Swiss commune nor those of an Indian village community, some artisans, on the basis of taxation or property qualification, may have a vote, but it is not exercised in a popular way. I was in India when the late Lord Ripon brought in his Municipal Government Bill based on Western organization, which ignored the existence of caste, enough in itself to defeat any true election, seeing that not a man's merits, but his religion, would influence the vote. Again, our system of landlordism and individual proprietors may be bad, but it is not worse than our system of centralization, so much condemned by the late Sir John Strachey. I wanted the Agra Municipality to do something for workmen, and called upon its Native President. He listened to my application and answered, "Yes, if the Sirkar (Government) is agreeable." In other words, I found that the Municipality had behind them the Provincial Government as a centralized screen!

We are told that the native delegates to the Supreme Council, are men of high culture. But it is not generally known that the native architect in the guild is also a man of high intelligence, who has studied numbers, hydraulics, and kindred sciences. One great flaw of the Hindu Constitution was, that the architect never took a higher grade than an ordinary mechanic, whereas, in Greece, he ranked among the privileged in the land. With regret, be it said, we have done nothing to improve this person's position, although his buildings at Bombay, Jeypore, and Gwalior, will stand comparison with those of any European builder; the Egyptian architect was also a guildsman. Useless to add, the Indian architect has no vote! With the disintegration of Hindu indigenous

institutions, the Village Community in many portions of India is assuming a most attenuated form, and the old guild being almost non-existent, it is very difficult to suggest how a popular vote ought to be secured among the agriculturists and artisans, or what representation they should have in the legislative assemblies of the Provincial and Supreme Governments. We might even go farther, as I have hinted, and see that the workmen of India are provided with a representative on the Secretary of State's Council in Whitehall, not some mere Government nominee, but one capable of voicing the interests of a great and important body, whose ancestors erected the great fabric of Hindu civilization. They are not an ignorant body, as some men imagine, but many of them are quite the equal of their European brethren, who at this hour are provided with every species of representation, such as that of their trade unions (practically revived guilds), federated societies of labour, Municipal and Parliamentary votes, and with a very worthy representative in the British Cabinet itself—Mr. John Burns. The Indian workmen are not men with the low ideals you find in some of the socialistic and atheistical workmen on the European Continent, seeing that one of their number twenty years ago, gave me a rebuke and a lesson which I have never forgotten. In my ignorance, while admiring a beautiful corrugated drip-stone in the Gwalior Palace, which I was conserving, I observed that the concealed under-surface was as richly ornamented as the outer, and made the utilitarian observation that it seemed to me rather a waste of labour. "No, Sahib!" was the native architect's reply, addressing me in Hindustani, "the ancients worked on the principle that where man did not see God saw." What a sermon in stones, and what an encouragement to us all, worthy to be engraved on the door of every workshop in letters of gold!

Our Government, as I have observed, is a class Government, and when the coinage question was in dispute, I took

occasion to point out that, while the European merchant interest in India was fully represented at Whitehall with delegates from the European Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta, the Indian working classes had no representative! Happily the days are gone by when a high official in Central India, in answer to a remonstrance of mine, could say, "The workmen of India are of no political significance." Moreover, I venture to insist that you cannot separate the economical aspect of the Indian Problem from the political, for it had as much to do with the recent Indian unrest as anything else. I am not prepared to endorse the refrain of a very worthy man, Mr. Narojee, late member for Finsbury, and other members of the National Congress, that we are robbing India; for we have opened up to many of its sons avenues for multiplying their riches; but I do affirm that Free Trade is a most unfair fiscal policy in a country where Protection is written on every feature of its land and people, be it physical or mental, social or military, on its long line of exposed coast-fortifications, as well as on the national character of the people!

If we compare India with the West, with Europe and America, we find feebleness and strength in strong juxtaposition. And Protection is the more necessary, because the people have little or no adequate representation, and because we have weakened, in some cases destroyed, those indigenous institutions which Nature and Providence had placed for the people's defence. Above all, in the case of an old civilization, like that of the Hindus, mutilated but not extinct, and which owes its vitality to the family, our aim ought to be to improve the indigenous ground-plan, with a due admixture of the individual, but not to subvert it. The village community and guild are the offspring of the family, and, if obsolete, or partly so, in a more progressive hemisphere, such as Europe, it ought not to be regarded in this light in India, a country that moves at a different rate of travel. According to the authority of Sir Henry Maine, the "village community" has been the

unit of government for all those who have administered the affairs of India, but we have allowed both it and the guild to fall into decay. Through them, on a revived, remodelled, and more perfect form, I would seek the basis of securing to the masses of India a measure of popular representation. The burden of Empire is immense, and a due meed of praise is due to those conscientious statesmen, whether Liberal or Conservative, who have sought the welfare of the people of India. The Indian Problem is an extremely complex one, full of side-lights and obstacles, as well as opposite racial interests, and a statesman under the existing political control has to look to the claims of our own people, the needs of our own operatives, as well as those of India, and, above all, to the necessity of safeguarding the paramount power, so that it is not easy to hold the scales. A policy of reciprocity is of all things the most difficult one to enforce in trade, and yet of all things it is the only just one. Finally, there is another view I would commend for consideration. The philosophic statesman, who looks to the history of universal ideas, as revealed in the philosophy of history, and as bearing on this Western or One civilization, which is to compass the world; who bears in mind the teaching of psychology—the human mind the same under every age and clime—is with all respect, be it observed, liable to take a perverted view. He may find support for his experiments when he looks to the aboriginal jury of India, or when he casts an eye on the primitive tribes of America, on the village republics of India, and notes their system of government. The powers of the ruler in America, in her communities, we read, “were abridged by a Council,” while the ideas of those in India were but a reflex of the “Russian Mir” until vitiated by the encroachments of Cæsar; its decrees were called the “Voice of Heaven,” and what is this but the equivalent of a later expression—viz., that the “Vox populi was the vox Dei.” No less pertinent to his purpose are the ideas we find enshrined in both China and India—viz., that “the sovereign was but

the mandatory of the people." Can your European democracy, whether it takes the form of a modified autocracy, as in Germany; of a constitutional government, as in England; or a Republic with universal suffrage, as in France, express that sovereignty in more explicit terms? In one respect the primitive ideal was better, for under the "village republics" of India the people had a political, a judicial, and moral education, that we may look for in vain in France or England at this hour. In England there is no such thing as village autonomy, no community and guild juries to assist the "faculty of judgment," to protect morality and guard against corrupt practices. The system in India of late years has been nothing but bureaucratic centralization, and in France, now crying for electoral reform, you have had a system of Parisian centralization and Prefect sway that has vitiated the popular vote.

Max Müller never uttered a truer word when he observed that we had much to learn from India, when he praised those communities we seek to destroy. And it is an equally true and philosophic remark that in many "of the concepts of the primitive tribes we find the latest conclusions of social science." Under conquest and Moslem sway, the Indian village communities lost much of their excellence, but it is worthy of remembrance—and this is true of China, as well as of India, and certified by Le Comte in his beautiful story of "Life in Northern China"—that official mendacity on the part of Moslems or Chinese mandarins would never dare to challenge village rights. These would be as stoutly asserted by the head of a village as borough or civic rights in Britain by a head magistrate.

But, while it is pleasing to study the law of universality and the aims of those who look forward to the solidarity of nations, it is profitable to bear in mind the law of diversity, a parallel law, which sees the Hindus doing everything in a different way from Europeans and looking at every subject from a different aspect. With a people whose climate has not changed since the Glacial Age, and has been far more

uniform than that of Europe, causing a different rate of travel and a more persistent heredity, as we see in those hereditary industries so much praised by Le Play the French economist, and which alas! have been destroyed, we must give effect to the law of diversity; or, in other words, in political economy as in other phases of civilization, we must seek truth in diversity rather than in concrete unity. And this is my apology for seeking a manual more suitable to Hindu wants than the existing one.

To draw up such a manual will be no easy task, for the rights of the governing and subject races have to be duly considered, and the rights of our own British capitalists who have done so much for Indian labour have to be safeguarded. I have been more concerned in the transition state of Indian industry to see the workman protected from the exploitation of his own countrymen. As regards ourselves, I am quite satisfied that, whatever may be the outcome of Western ideas, our countrymen, an inherently strong race, will see the justice of protecting an inherently weak one.

THE UNEARTHING OF HOARDED WEALTH IN INDIA, AND IN CONNECTION THEREWITH THE FINANCING OF FEEDER RAILWAYS AND CANALS.*

BY T. H. S. BIDDULPH, C.I.E. (ACCOUNTANT-GENERAL,
RETIRED).

IN presenting these few notes to your attention, I do so with a view to elicit expressions of opinion and to encourage discussion more than anything else.

IN connection with this subject I happened to come across the report in the *Times*, of a lecture delivered by a distinguished member of the Indian Council, at the London School of Economics, in which he classed India with other undeveloped countries who require to obtain capital from Europe. In regard to this I venture to disagree. Centuries before most of the countries he names were, so to speak, born or thought of, India had advanced to a high pitch of civilization. She had systems of Government more or less organized with coinage—banking establishments—systems of credit, manufactures, and industries. It is true under the then existing circumstances the investment of money in any co-operative development was more or less impossible. But she cannot be classed with those undeveloped countries, such as America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc., where up to quite recently, in a comparative sense, the population were wild untamed savages, whose highest financial transactions consisted in elementary methods of barter, and who found amusement and relish in scalping and eating each other.

What we have to recognize is that there is a fabulous amount of capital dormant in India which it should be the object of Government to unearth, and the use of which to encourage for the benefit of the owners and the community generally.

* For discussion on this paper see Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

Capital is a most delicate plant. It must have suitable soil, it requires delicate handling, it must be protected from storm and tempest, and requires sympathetic encouragement.

Given these it has a wonderful power of growth and will develop into a strong and vigorous plant spreading its roots and branches in all directions—but it wants care and encouragement—and is not what may be styled a “hardy annual” that can be left to manage for itself.

Or it may be likened to those mighty rivers which collect their volume from innumerable little streams and rivulets. If left to themselves they pour their waters into the ocean and disappear for all practical purposes, whereas by judicious care and management they may be shepherded and directed into canals and waterways, spreading life and prosperity over a thirsty land.

My attention was drawn some time ago to an article in the *Times* of August 17, 1908, on a letter of Sir E. Cable, relating to “Hoarded Wealth in India.” It is unnecessary to discuss how much has been hoarded; the fact remains that enormous hoards do exist, and that it is financially and politically wise to endeavour to find some means of unearthing and making use of it. Perhaps the description of a practical experiment in this direction may be of interest.

For some years it was my business, under the orders of the Government of India, to reorganize and manage the finances of an important Native State during the minority of the Chief. After clearing off liabilities and setting things in order, I began to consider the matter of commercial development. Now it so happened that for some years a railway project had been under consideration, and about this time it became necessary to determine how the necessary funds were to be provided. The Government of India would undertake to construct, and later on to work, the line through the agency of a British Government railway, but as a preliminary condition required the necessary capital to be produced before proceeding further.

At this point I began to consider whether I might not induce the subjects of the State to provide the capital, and as the result of my inquiries, I drew up a prospectus of a limited liability railway company. After detailing the object of the company, I put down the following terms and conditions :

1. Subscription limited to subjects of the State.
2. A guaranteed dividend by the State of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
3. The State to take up all unallotted shares.
4. The State undertakes to purchase at par any shares which may be offered.
5. The State undertakes to sell to any eligible applicant any shares it may hold at a price regulated by the average dividends of the last three years on a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis.
6. Capital as subscribed to be deposited in the Bank of Bengal.

My note on the scheme was as follows :

It having been definitely decided that this line shall be constructed, it becomes necessary to arrange for the provision of funds to carry out the project. Hitherto the usual method adopted by Native States has been either to provide funds from the State Treasury or to solicit the assistance of the Government of India in the shape of a loan, and which, if granted, carries interest at 4 per cent.

It is evident that so long as these methods are adopted the subjects of the State generally have no interest whatever in the lines which are constructed, nor is general interest excited in any project which happens to be under consideration.

It has never been suggested that the general public should come forward and invest their savings in the development of railway or any other commercial enterprise in their own State, and if any such suggestion were made it would not, under existing conditions, receive any response, and yet very considerable sums are invested in

fixed deposits in banks and in shares, in mills, etc., *outside* the State.

My earlier inquiries as to whether the subjects of the State might be expected to form a Company for the construction of the proposed railway were met by the reply from representative persons that unless I could devise a scheme, which would absolutely safeguard their money, it would not be produced, but that, given adequate security, and other conditions as to returns, etc., there would not be the least difficulty in raising as much money as might be required.

Further, they insisted upon means of realizing the value of their investment in case they wanted cash, and a guaranteed rate of interest on their money. I quite entered into their views. Unless they could be sure that their capital was safe, and that they could recover the value of their investment in case of need, and that such investment would produce a minimum return on which they could count, they would naturally have nothing to do with my scheme.

The terms which are contained in the prospectus meet all the requirements of the investing public as testified to by a general consensus of opinion. Apart from the mere question of relieving the Government of the State of the necessity for producing or borrowing funds for the railway, my chief object in promoting the Railway Company was to encourage the subjects of the State to devote their capital to the development of their own resources, and to engender the feeling of self-help and self-confidence which should tend to promote a readiness to provide for their own requirements instead of looking to the ruling power to do everything for them.

Looked at from the point of view merely as a financial transaction, the Durbar obtains funds for the prosecution of the railway scheme without the necessity for utilizing its working balance, which is not more than is reasonably sufficient as an insurance against short crops or famine, or,

on the other hand, raising a loan, the interest of which would go outside the State.

The 4 per cent. paid during the construction is a legitimate charge on capital, it does not come out of the State Treasury, and it goes into the pockets of the investors. The $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. guarantee is a risk which the State can well afford to undertake if it encourages the production of capital by its subjects for their own commercial interests, but even from a financial point of view there need be no anxiety as to the liability incurred by the State. A railway already owned by the State gives an average return on the result of the past six years of 6.5 per cent. The actual return for the year 1907 being nearly 12 per cent., and it would not, therefore, be over-sanguine to base our calculations on a return, say, of 5 per cent. on our new project. Possibly for a year or two, until traffic has been developed, the return might not exceed, say, 2 per cent. for the first year, 3 per cent. for the second, and 4 per cent. for the third year.

Supposing that the returns were as suggested, the cost to the State would be on a capital of 15 lacs:

	Rs.
1st year difference between $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ and 2%	$2\frac{1}{2}\%$ 37,000
2nd year difference between $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ " 3%	$1\frac{1}{2}\%$ 17,500
3rd year difference between $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ " 4%	$\frac{1}{2}\%$ 7,500

Total cost to the Durbar of guarantee for three years during which the traffic would be developed Rs. 62,000 which might be recovered by sharing the surplus over guarantee later on.

The limitation of qualification as shareholders to subjects or officials of the State is one on which I lay very great stress. It is most important that all risk of complications which might very likely arise, if shares be bought up by other than subjects of the State, should be avoided. The State offers a favourable rate of guarantee for the benefit of *its own subjects* and not for that of outsiders, nor would

it be convenient to have the line owned by shareholders over whom the State has no control.

This scheme which I would adopt in regard to other commercial enterprises, at any rate for some years to come, lends itself to the unearthing of hoards and the general development of an intelligent interest by the subjects of the State in the possibilities of their own territory. The State might, for the present, act as pioneer by providing capital for tram-lines, mills, etc., and as each undertaking gives evidence of being able to give a moderate and assured return on the capital sunk, the State should hand it over to a company formed on some such lines as I have sketched out, and employ the capital recovered from the company on some fresh enterprise.

In the course of a few years confidence would be established, commercial instinct developed, and the people might then be left to develop the resources of the State without the temporary hypothecation of State capital to lead the way.

But in every case of any project undertaken by the State and finally handed over to its subjects, I would insist that in allotting shares, the inhabitants of the Tahsil, or district in which the undertaking is situated, should have the first claim to share in such undertaking. If a tramline runs through a certain district, the inhabitants of the tract through which it runs should have a special claim to shares in a company formed to take it over, and so on.

Copies of the prospectus in vernacular form were distributed broadcast throughout the State, and the scheme was carefully explained to all officials who were asked to reply to any inquiries that might be made. The results exceeded my anticipations, applications for shares were registered from persons of all ranks and trades, and what pleased me most, from persons who could only afford to take up single shares.

Certain matters still remain to be decided regarding the alignment of the railway, but the fact remains that the

capital will be forthcoming, and that from the pockets of the general population in a Native State.

The points on which the ordinary native of India must be satisfied are security of capital, a market for his investment, and a guaranteed minimum rate of interest.

Now my contention is that if these conditions can be secured in a Native State, surely some plan might be devised to get at native capital in British India. If my experiment may be accepted as a basis on which to work, perhaps the following rough suggestions might be worthy of consideration :

(1) That railway companies should be allowed to supply their own capital, and that existing lines, other than those constructed for purely strategical purposes, be converted into companies. As regards the conditions specified above, I think we may consider the security of capital in British India as generally accepted by the people.

(2) That a minimum rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. be guaranteed to investors, who must be natives of India, residents in India over a certain length of time, or servants of Government. Syndicates or banks would not be permitted to take quantities of shares on speculation. It might be possible to limit the holding as is done in the case of Post Office Savings Banks.

(3) That a ready means of selling out be provided. This is the most important point. There is no reason to suppose that it would be availed of to any serious extent, but it must be provided. The ordinary native has no means of disposing of shares, and if there were any market, which there is not outside the presidency towns, he would not know how to go about it, and if he made any attempt would certainly be robbed. It is because his silver and gold hoards are readily convertible that he collects them, but he would just as readily invest them if he could be certain of converting his investment into cash whenever an emergency arose, such as marriage, and other ceremonies, or the purchase of property, cattle, etc.

The ownership of a certain value of guaranteed scrip might be one of the qualifications for holding various honorary appointments, such as honorary magistrates, etc., and it should be included in the list of Trust Investments. The scrip would also be accepted in all cases demanding security.

There would be no difficulty in working out details. At first it is quite possible that there would be difficulties, and officials might grumble at this "infernal new-fangled investment business."

To provide funds for the suggested redemption of shares, either the companies or Government would have to provide a special margin of capital. If Government, then the transactions with the public would be adjusted in account between Government and the companies.

An examination of the last Administration Report on Indian Railways discloses the fact that the net earnings during 1907 yielded a return of 5.86 per cent. on the 274 million sterling spent up to date, which includes strategical lines. Indeed there are lines which pay as much as 12 per cent. Little risk would be run in granting a guarantee of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the Government would be compensated for any risk by its share in the surplus. The actual net gain to Government, after meeting working expenses, interest on capital outlay, etc., was about two millions sterling. There are various works of public utility to which this scheme might be applied besides railways, such as canals, water-works, electric power, etc.

The "Review of Irrigation in India, in 1906-07," has been published. The net result is that close on $32\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling had been spent on canals up to date, producing a net revenue of 8 per cent. on capital outlay, the area irrigated being about $22\frac{1}{2}$ million acres. It is not necessary here to quote further details, but nearly every rate per cent. is shown as earned by one canal or other from below 1 per cent. up to 25 per cent. Why should not these, or some of them, be converted into public companies, and future

projects constructed by companies on the lines I have suggested?

I feel confident that were capital asked for on the general terms suggested, any amount would be forthcoming. My views are based on an intimate acquaintance with native ideas, acquired during many years of close association with all classes. If such a sort of scheme tended to encourage a general desire for law and order, and to discourage anything savouring of sedition or unrest as it would be bound to do, such a result would be cheaply purchased even at the cost of the surrender of some of the surplus profits which now accrue on the working of the railways in India.

As to any inquiry into hoarding and accumulation proposed by Sir E. Cable, the very suggestion of such a proceeding is enough to at once shut down any chance of the supply of capital from that source—suspicion as to motives would at once be aroused, and the hoards would only be buried deeper.

Railways should be divided into imperial and provincial, main through routes, and those of a stragetic nature would naturally be imperial. All feeder lines would be provincial, to be constructed from capital provided by local governments or by local companies.

At present, if a local government happened to have any funds available, which it might wish to devote to a feeder line, it is put off by the fact that any capital it might provide would be lost to it, and the return on it would be absorbed in the general railway income of the Empire, and would not be credited to the province. I quote a case: Some years ago a local government desired to devote a considerable amount of its resources to local railways. The Government of India—Financial Department—was consulted, and it was found any such railways would merge in the General Indian Railway System, and the local government would lose the return on so much capital. The money was therefore made use of in roads and other

works of a less useful and profitable nature, and which in the eyes of the Lieutenant-Governor, however useful they might be, had not the same value in his eyes as railways.

Naturally, local officers have the best means of knowing where traffic and trade suggest feeder lines, and it is local officers' influence which would encourage the production of local capital. Being satisfied that the proposed line is sound, and that local people are interested and ready to produce the capital on terms I have suggested, the local government would send up the scheme to the Government of India, who would order the Railway Board to report on it from an engineering point of view. If the report was favourable, the Government of India would sanction the scheme, provided the local government could provide the money.

When completed, the line would be a provincial line, and all surplus profits would go either to credit of the provincial government or of the company. If the lines were of a gauge corresponding with the main lines, they would be constructed under the order of the Railway Board, and be worked on contract by the main line to which it was a feeder on a basis of 50 per cent. of gross earnings.

If the proposed lines were small-gauge light lines, the construction might be entrusted to engineering firms dealing in such work, who would construct the line for the company providing the funds, and work it on terms to be agreed upon—the Bengal light lines, constructed by Martin and Co., being cases in point. In any case it is important that the local officials should exhibit an interest in the matter, and do all possible to encourage local leaders of the people to assist.

In such enterprises it is all important that it should be made plain to the public that parties promoting light railway enterprises have the goodwill of the Government behind them.

In the first instance, the issue of shares would be local—that is, local people would have the first offer; and, I sup-

pose, after that the shares would go to the general market. But so long as any resident within a certain area through which the line ran who was allotted shares retained them, he would be entitled to be dealt with as suggested in my scheme ; or it might be arranged that any resident of a definite area might employ the State agency in purchasing or disposing of shares.

At present there is no keen personal interest on the part of any one of those on the spot who really are the ones who ought to take such an interest. Had such a policy been pursued from the first, imagine what an anchor to our hold on the people such a network of local railways would have been.

Generally speaking, the same system might be adopted in regard to canals.

It is true the risk of a guarantee has to be run, but it is as certain as anything can be that any properly selected feeder line will pay over $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and so would most canals. Besides, the advantages are well worth the risk.

Objection will probably be raised to the terms which provide for the redemption of shares by Government ; but this might be got over by limiting the annual allotment for this purpose, and the period during which this condition should have effect to a term of years—say, ten, fifteen, or twenty.

But unless some sort of market such as I have suggested is provided, local capital will not be forthcoming. And, after all, if the worst came to the worst, and the extremely remote contingency arrived, leaving all the shares in the hands of the Government, it would be no worse off than at present. Such a contingency could only happen if a line were sanctioned which eventually did not pay, and for this the local government would have to accept responsibility, seeing that it is the business of local governments to satisfy themselves that any proposed feeder line would certainly pay.

Recently I noticed in the *Pioneer Mail* a reference to

the development of feeder lines in Assam, and the opinion expressed by the Lieutenant-Governor that private companies should be formed for their construction : my remarks show that this is exactly the view I take. My proposition is that it is *not*, as a rule, the duty of the Government of India to provide any but the main routes of railway, and that all feeder lines should be constructed from locally raised capital, or possibly from any surplus funds at the disposal of local governments.

THE SIKH RELIGION.*

BY M. A. MACAULIFFE, B.A., I.C.S. RET.

I PRESUME that the Society before which I have the honour of lecturing is called the Quest Society because its members are in quest of some philosophical or theological system which presents the least difficulties of comprehension and the least anomalies or inconsistencies. Some great philosophers, such as Schopenhauer and Schleiermacher, apparently dissatisfied with the existing forms of Christianity, have found a refuge or solace in Buddhism, and large bodies of thinkers in Germany have occasionally debated whether Buddhism could not be substituted for Christianity as a national cult. An article which appeared a few years ago in the *Vossische Zeitung* dwelt on the enormous spread of Buddhism in Germany as a potent influence beginning to permeate large sections of the population. It drew attention to the decay of interest throughout the country in missionary and Bible societies and to the decrease in their incomes; and not long ago the Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt gave a commission to a sculptor to erect a large statue of Buddha under the trees of his garden. This was held not to be a mere satisfaction of an æsthetic impulse, but significant of the profound alteration of public sentiment in matters of faith and dogma.

Now, Buddhism—at any rate, at its inception—was a system without a God and without a soul, though some of the countries to which it emigrated found it essential for their political welfare to adopt these very important supplementary beliefs. Indeed, it has often appeared to me that Buddhism may be considered rather as a system of ethics than a religion in the true sense of the word. It has four

* The above paper has been read before the Quest Society. See also pp. 315-329 (October, 1909), of this *Review* on the same subject by H. R.

acknowledged mysteries, one of the most abstruse being the manner in which the Karma, or acts done in human life, can be borne on to the next stage of existence, without a soul as their vehicle and concomitant. In making these brief remarks I hope I shall not be held to decry the study of Buddhism in Europe. Such study will always be useful as providing intellectual gymnastics for ladies and gentlemen dowered with a large amount of leisure and surplus mental energy. I am engaged here to-night in offering to your attention a religion which has a God and a soul, which presents no mysteries, and which embraces an ethical system such as has never been excelled, if, indeed, it has ever been equalled—I mean the Sikh religion.

Sikhism, like other great religions, did not present itself all of a sudden as a complete divine gift to the world. Reform and dissatisfaction with existing systems are generally in the air for many years, it may be centuries, before they ripen by the genius of some great man into a consistent form of belief. As he whom the most advanced races of the world call the Messiah had precursors in the persons of Simeon the Just, Jesus the son of Sirach, Hillel, John the Baptist, and others, so Guru Nānak had as predecessors Jaidev, author of the "*Gīta Gobind*" which some of you have read, if not in the original Sanskrit, at any rate in the exquisite translation of Sir Edwin Arnold, Nāmdev, the Marāṭha saint, Rāmānand, and the enlightened Kabīr, one of the greatest and most daring thinkers that India has ever produced. At the same time, Guru Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion, rose superior to all by his own original genius, his unalloyed piety, and his conspicuous success in establishing a pure religion which guides, or ought to guide, some three millions of human beings.

Guru Nānak was born as late as the year 1469 of our era, and his religion, while in many respects superior to all others, lacks the glamour of antiquity which so engages the attention of the archæological student. Guru Nānak's

people belonged to what would be called in this country the farming class, but his father was also a village accountant, a very useful and helpful official in Indian administration. His village, now called Nankāna, in honour of the great man to whom it had the honour of giving birth, lay deep in a vast and lonely forest in the south-western corner of what is now the British district of Lahore.

Guru Nānak's birth was heralded by no prophecies or portents, though Sikh poets have asserted that the choirs of heaven sang pæans of gladness at his incarnation. He acquired some book-learning in a humble village school which would now be spurned by the high educational authorities in India. This consisted principally in a knowledge of the Hindī and Persian languages, to fit him to succeed to his father's duties. To the retirement of the neighbouring forest thronged anchorets and holy men from various parts of India, from whom he sought and received spiritual information.

Nānak was born a Hindu, but from his earliest years he declared himself a foe of Hindu superstitions. A Hindu child is inducted into his religion by the ceremony of putting on a sacrificial thread over the left shoulder and across the body transversely. Until this ceremony is performed he is deemed lowest in the social scale. Nānak pointed out to the officiating priest that a thread did not restrain human passions, and he accordingly dispensed with what to the Hindus is a most solemn and indispensable ceremony.

When his father required help to till his land he addressed Nānak in the hope of eliciting a favourable response. Nānak at once assumed the rôle of preacher to his own father. He said :

Make thy body the field, good works the seed, irrigate with God's name.

Make thy heart the cultivator; God will germinate in thy heart, and thou shalt thus obtain the dignity of Nirvāṇ.

His father then tried to turn his attention to shop-keeping. He replied :

Make the knowledge that life is frail thy shop, the True Name thy stock-in-trade ;

Make meditation and contemplation thy piles of vessels, put the True Name into them.

Deal with the dealers of the True Name, and thou shalt gladly take home thy profits.

The advantages of dealing in horses was next urged on his attention, but this avocation, too, did not find favour with him. He insisted that the hearing of sacred books should be a horse-dealer's stock-in-trade, truth the horses he took to sell, and virtue his necessary travelling expenses.

Nānak had a brother-in-law in the service of the Lodi Emperor. Nānak's father suggested that he should, through the influence of his relative, seek an appointment under the Government. Young Nānak derided State service and said :

Make devotion to God thy service, faith in Him thine occupation ;
Make the restraint of evil thine effort, so shall men congratulate thee.

Thus Nānak manifested a complete indifference to what are generally deemed practical pursuits. He became subject to trances, and unsympathetic persons declared that he had forfeited his intelligence. His behaviour was naturally a source of the greatest concern to his mother. She requested him to suspend his devotions for a few days, and show himself in the village, that it might appear he had recovered his reason. Nānak replied with a panegyric on God.

A physician was then sent for to diagnose the youth's disease and prescribe a remedy. Nānak would not have his pulse felt. He stood up and told the physician that his malady was mental, produced by separation from God, the result of having forgotten Him in the pursuit of pleasure. He refused to accept any treatment from the physician.

When further pressure was put on him, he accepted Government service for a time, but soon relinquished it

with the object of pursuing what he felt was his Divine mission, and giving currency to his ideas and religious aspirations. He boldly declared that there was no Hindu and no Muhammadan, by which he meant that neither Hindus nor Muhammadans were guided by the principles and practices of the founders of their religions. He felt himself called to establish a purer religion, and henceforth devoted himself solely to this great enterprise. For the future we shall call Nānak the Guru, a word which in the original Sanskrit meant "great," but which, in course of time, was used to designate a great religious teacher. He laid the foundation of a religion of the heart, embracing the necessity of truth and honesty, the equality of all men, and a disregard of idle ceremonial. His injunctions were generally in verses which he sang himself, and he engaged a minstrel as his accompanist. He visited the Hindu places of pilgrimage in order to preach to the multitudes there assembled. When he visited Hardwar, on the Ganges, he saw Hindus throwing water towards the east for the relief of the *manes* of their ancestors. He joined his hands so as to form a cup, and began to throw water to the west. The crowd was astonished, and inquired what manner of man it was who, contrary to all ancient custom, threw water towards the setting instead of towards the rising sun. He told them he was throwing it to irrigate a field he had sown in his native village. The spectators thought he was crazy, and told him the water could never reach his field, which was too far away. He replied that their departed ancestors were much farther away, and the water he threw was more likely to reach his field than the water they threw was to reach their ancestors. "Ye call me a fool," he said, "but ye are much greater fools yourselves."

The Guru then began to inveigh against worship for idle ostentation. He told the Muhammadans that when they took rosaries in their hands they never thought of God, but allowed their minds to wander towards vain, worldly objects. He maintained that the sacrifices and burnt

offerings of Hindus ought to be devout worship and a practice of humility. The Guru continued his journey, preaching often, with a fine sense of humour, against Hindu superstitions.

At one place he fell in with a company of Jogis. They pressed him to join their order, and he should then find the true way and obtain the merits of religion. He replied :

Religion consisteth not in a patched coat, or in a Jogi's staff, or in ashes smeared over the body ;

Religion consisteth not in earrings worn, or a shaven head, or the blowing of horns.

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world ; thus shalt thou find the way of religion.

Religion consisteth not in mere words ;

He who looketh on all men as equal is religious.

Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs or places of cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation ;

Religion consisteth not in wandering in foreign countries, or bathing at places of pilgrimage.

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world ; thus shalt thou find the way of religion.

The Guru found himself alone in a wilderness, and it is recorded of him, as it is of Christ and Buddha before him, that he was there tempted by Satan. The Evil Spirit is said to have offered to build him a palace of pearls, and inlay it with gems, to bring him very beautiful women, give him the wealth of the world, and confer on him the sovereignty of the East and of the West if he would abandon his mission. The Guru replied :

Were a mansion of pearls erected and inlaid with gems for me,
Perfumed with musk, saffron, fragrant aloes and sandal to confer
delight ;

May it not be that on beholding these objects I may forget God and not
remember His Name ?

My soul burneth without God.

Were the earth to be studded with diamonds and rubies, and my couch
to be similarly adorned ;

Were fascinating damsels whose faces were decked with jewels to shed
lustre and enhance the pleasure of the scene ;

May it not be that on beholding them I may forget Thee, O God, and
not remember Thy Name ?

Were I to become a monarch on my throne and raise an army ;
Were dominion and regal revenue mine,
May it not be that on beholding these things I may forget God, and
not remember His Name ?

When Guru Nānak visited the temple of Jaganāth he was invited by the high priest to join in adoration of the great idol. The lamps were lit for evening worship, and offerings to the gods were laid on salvers studded with pearls. Around the temple were placed flowers, and a fan was employed to excite the flames of incense, generally an accessory of idolatrous worship. Hereon the Guru extemporized the following :

The sun and moon, O Lord, are Thy lamps ; the firmament, Thy salver ; the orbs of the stars, the pearls enchased in it ;

The perfume of the sandal is Thine incense ; the wind is Thy fan ; all the forests are Thy flowers, O Lord of light !

Nānak found himself in the city of Saiyidpur, now called Eminabad, in the Gurdaspur district of the Panjāb. During his stay it was sacked and destroyed by the Mughal Emperor Bābar. The Guru composed the following threnody on the fate of the female inhabitants of the city :

They who wore beautiful tresses and the partings of whose hair were dyed with vermillion,

Have their locks now shorn with the scissors, and dust is thrown upon their heads.

They dwelt in their private chambers ; now they cannot find a seat abroad.

When they were married, they appeared beautiful near their spouses ;
They came in their sedans adorned with ivory ;

Water was waved round their heads, and glittering fans over them.

They had hundreds of thousands waiting on them sitting, and hundreds of thousands waiting on them standing.

Eating cocoanuts and dates they sported on their couches ;

But now chains are on their necks, and broken are their strings of pearls.

The wealth and beauty which afforded them pleasures have now become their bane.

The order was given to the soldiers to take and dishonour them ;

If they had thought of God before, why should they have received punishment ?

But they had lost all thought of God in joys, in spectacles, and in pleasures.

When the Guru was taken prisoner and brought before Bābar, he was pressed to embrace Islām. The Guru indignantly refused. The Emperor, instead of being incensed at the outspoken language he used on the occasion, invited him to ask a favour. Nānak replied :

It is the One God who hath commissioned me.

Everyone partaketh of His gifts.

He who looketh for human support

Loseth both this world and the next.

There is but one Giver ; the whole world are beggars.

They who forsake Him and attach themselves to others lose all their honour.

Kings and Emperors are all made by Him.

There is none equal to Him.

Saith Nānak, Hear, Emperor Bābar :

He who beggeth of thee is not wise.

The Guru in his wanderings visited Ceylon, popularly supposed to be a Buddhist country, but which in reality, according to a recent writer, contains several districts where Hinduism and ancient nature- and demon-worship still prevail. He subsequently decided to visit Makka and Madīna, the holy cities of the Muhammadans, hallowed by the residence of their Prophet. Long conversations and discussions between the Guru and the Muhammadan priests are recorded. I shall here merely give his reply to the Makkan high priest's questions regarding the composition of matter, God's nature, and the essence of religion :

Know that according to the Musalmāns everything is produced from air, fire, water, and earth ;

But the pure God created the world out of five elements.

How great shall I call God ? to whom shall I go to inquire regarding Him ?

He is the greatest of the great, and great is His world ; men depart in their pride.

I have consulted the four Vedes, but these writings find not God's limits.

I have consulted the four books of the Muhammadans, but God's worth is not described in them.

I have consulted the nine regions of the earth ; one improveth upon what the other saith.

Having turned my heart into a boat, I have searched in every sea ;
I have dwelt by rivers and streams, and bathed at the sixty-eight places
of pilgrimage ;

I have lived among the forests and glades of the three worlds and eaten
bitter and sweet ;

I have seen the seven nether regions and heavens upon heavens.

And I, Nānak, declare that man shall be true to his faith if he fear God
and do good works.

The Guru, having accomplished his mission in the West, resolved to return to his native country. When he arrived in Multān, the local high priest presented him with a cup of milk filled to the brim. By this he meant it to be understood that the city was full of holiness already, and that there was no room for another religious teacher. Nānak, in no wise disconcerted, took the milk and laid on it an Indian jasmine flower. The cup did not overflow. This typified that there was still room for the Guru in the midst of the Multānis, as there is still room for the ever-flowing Ganges in the ocean.

The Guru briefly voiced his creed :

There is but one God whose name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great, and bountiful. He is, was, and ever shall be.

This, which the Guru called the spell which is the essence of all religion, he gave to a man called Lahina, whose devotion he had tried by a terrible ordeal. He changed Lahina's name to Angad, and, in supersession of his own sons, nominated him his successor.

The Guru on seeing the Muhammadan prelate of Multan prepared for death, and pondering on his own approaching dissolution composed the following :

Wealth, youth, and flowers are guests for only four days ;
They wither and fade like the leaves of the water-lily.
Enjoy God's love, O dear one, in the freshness of youth.
Few are thy days ; thou art wearied and the vesture of thy body hath grown old.

My merry friends have gone to sleep in the grave.
I, too, shall depart in sorrow, and weep with a feeble voice.
O my soul, why not attentively listen to this message ?

Bhai Gur Dās, an orthodox Sikh of a subsequent generation, wrote a panegyric of the Guru, which it would be too long to quote *in extenso*. A few sentences only can be given. God conferred supernatural attributes on Guru Nānak. He bestowed on him the supreme wealth of devotion and humility. The Guru pointed out to men the straight way. There was but one God, the primal and omnipotent. Having railed against the iniquity of caste, he placed the monarch and the beggar on a spiritual equality. He preached to all a religion of real devotion as distinguished from a cult of external form and unavailing ritual. And what at that time was, if not an absolutely new doctrine, at any rate one long forgotten, he declared that man might duly worship God while in the bosom of his family and engaged in his worldly avocations.

The Sikhs believe in the transmigration of souls, and hold that the spirit of Guru Nānak entered Guru Angad. The latter generally preached the same doctrines, but it has been remarked that he did not insist on the same servile obedience to a human Guru as did his predecessor.

It is well known that the Sikhs are among the bravest of our Indian races, and have been our most loyal subjects. Guru Angad probably gave the keynote of their subsequent performances. A soldier named Malu Shah, orderly of a Mughal officer, sought for spiritual advice which would be profitable to him here and hereafter. The Guru counselled him, if ever the necessity of battle arose, to fight for his master, and not consider whether his side was in a numerical minority or not.

Prior to Guru Angad's time the compositions of the saints and reformers were for the most part written in the Sanskrit alphabet. He, deeming that the compositions of Guru Nānak were worthy of a specially written character of their own, adopted and modified a Panjābi alphabet, afterwards called Gurumukhi, to give expression to what fell from the Guru's lips. This was furthermore a gain on

the score of simplicity, for it contains but thirty-five letters, while the Sanskrit alphabet has fifty-two.

Guru Angad appointed as his successors, not his own sons, in whom he did not discern filial piety, but Amar Dās, who was absolutely devoted to him, and filled with the spirit of unquestioning faith and obedience. Guru Amar Das lived on coarse food and observed the most ascetic habits. Having been born a Hindu, he used sometimes to consult the sacred books of the discarded religion. He again arrived at the conclusion that, though they defined good and evil, they could afford no information regarding God. He used to preach in the following style :

It is not proper for saints to take revenge. Nay, there is no greater penance than patience, no greater happiness than contentment, no greater evil than greed, no greater virtue than mercy, and no more potent weapon than forgiveness. Whatever man soweth that shall he reap. If he sow trouble, trouble shall be his harvest. If a man sow poison, he cannot expect ambrosia.

Guru Amar Dās had a highly religious daughter, who became the wife of a well-favoured youth, then known as Jetha. He also, as the essence of devotion and obedience to his father-in-law, was appointed his successor under the name of Guru Rām Dās. He used to give such exhortations to his Sikhs as the following :

Let him who calleth himself a Sikh of the true Guru, rise early and meditate on God ;

Let him exert himself in the early morning, bathe in the sacred tank,

Repeat God's Name under the Guru's instruction, and all his sins and transgressions shall be erased.

Let him at sunrise sing the Guru's hymns, and whether sitting or standing meditate on God's name.

The heart coveteth gold and women, and sweet to it is worldly love.

Man turneth his mind to palaces, mansions, horses, and other pleasures.

O my Lord God, how shall I be saved who think not on Thee ?

Thou, O God, who possessest excellences and art compassionate, mercifully pardon all my sins.

No beauty is mine, no high birth, and no manners.

What dare I without merits say in Thy presence since I have not uttered Thy Name ?

Lay aside lust, wrath, falsehood, and slander; renounce mammon, and cease to be proud.

Renounce worldly love, thus shalt thou obtain the Bright One in this dark world.

Renounce ideas of honour or dishonour; renounce greed and desire, and fix thine attention on God.

He in whose heart the True One dwelleth shall by means of the true Word be absorbed in God's Name.

Rām Dās had a son called Arjan, who subsequently became his successor. On one occasion, as Arjan was proceeding to Lahore to attend a relative's wedding, his mother gave him the following injunction :

Ever worship that God who hath no end or limit ;

By remembering Him all sin is removed and ancestors are saved.

O my son, take this thy mother's blessing.

May God never forget thee for a moment, and do thou ever repeat the Name of the Lord of the world !

May the true Guru be merciful to thee, and mayest thou love the saints !

May God's preservation of thine honour be thy raiment, and singing His praises thy daily food !

Ever quaff the nectar of God's name; mayest thou live long and may the remembrance of God afford thee endless delight !

May joy and pleasure be thine, may thy desires be fulfilled, and mayest thou never feel anxiety !

Let thy heart become the bumble-bee, and God's feet the lotus from which it extracteth its sweets.

When Guru Arjan succeeded his father, he hastened the completion of the city of Amritsar, and projected the construction of the beautiful Sikh edifice called by Sikhs the Har Mandar, and by Europeans the Golden Temple, the Sikh Holy of Holies.

After due consideration, Guru Arjan decided to collect his own hymns and those of his predecessors in one volume for the guidance and edification of the Sikhs. This, which was a work of great labour and discrimination, was completed three hundred and six years ago, and received the name "Granth." Every man who has written or compiled a book must be prepared for misrepresentation. In the literature in which we are taught from our earliest years to find consolation we read that the malignant critic existed

even in the days of Job, and some of us know that he exists even up to the present day. There was a complaint laid before the Emperor Akbar that Guru Arjan had compiled a book in which the Muhammadan priests and prophets and the Hindu incarnations and gods were spoken of with contempt. The great and tolerant Emperor, after having some of the Guru's hymns read to him, declared that he found no impiety in them. He expressed himself pleased with the teaching of the "Granth," a volume which he considered worthy of reverence, and he expressed his displeasure with the Guru's slanderers and enemies. A Muhammadan historian corroborates the statement of the Sikhs that the great Akbar subsequently paid a reverential visit to the Guru, and solicited his prayers for his spiritual and temporal welfare and happiness.

Unfortunately for Guru Arjan, the tolerant Emperor Akbar died soon after, and was succeeded by his son Jahāngīr. Jahāngīr's son Khusro, nominated to the throne by Akbar in supersession of Jahāngīr, claimed the Panjāb and Afghānistān, which his father was unwilling to concede him. Guru Arjan befriended Khusro, and gave him five thousand rupees to escape to Kābul from his father's vengeance. Jahāngīr, who, contrary to the impression received from Moore's "Lalla Rookh," was a very cruel monarch, hated his father's friends. For instance, he procured the murder of Abul Fazl, the great Persian historian of Akbar's reign, because he believed that Abul Fazl had abetted Akbar in his rejection of Islām. Personal enemies also calumniated the Guru, misrepresented the tenor of his religious propaganda, and especially reminded Jahāngīr of the Guru's assistance to Khusro. The Guru was summoned to Lahore and called upon to answer the charge of having been friendly to Khusro, the Emperor's enemy, though his son. The Guru replied :

I regard all people, whether Hindu or Musalmān, rich or poor, friend or foe, without love or hate : and it is on this account that I gave thy son some money for his journey, and not because he was in opposition to thee.

If I had not assisted him in his forlorn condition, and so shown some regard for the kindness of thy father, the Emperor Akbar, to myself, all men would despise me for my heartlessness and ingratitude, or they would say that I was afraid of thee. This would have been unworthy of a follower of Guru Nānak, the world's Guru.

The conclusion of this speech was not calculated to soothe the Emperor's feelings. He ordered the Guru to pay a fine of two lakhs of rupees, and also to erase the hymns in his "*Granth*" which were opposed to the Hindu and Musalmān religions. The Guru replied :

Whatever money I have is for the poor, the friendless, and the stranger. If thou ask for money, thou mayest take what I have ; but if thou ask for it by way of fine, I will not give thee even a kauri, for fine is levied on wicked, worldly persons, and not on priests and anchorites. And as to what thou hast said regarding the erasure of hymns in the "*Granth Sāhib*," I cannot erase or alter an iota. I am a worshipper of the Immortal God, the Supreme Soul of the world. There is no monarch save Him ; and what He revealed to the Gurus, from Guru Nānak to Guru Rām Dās, and afterwards to myself, is written in the holy "*Granth Sāhib*." The hymns which find a place in it are not disrespectful to any Hindu incarnation or any Muhammadan prophet. It is certainly stated that prophets, priests, and incarnations are the handiwork of the Immortal God, whose limit none can find. My main object is the spread of truth and the destruction of falsehood ; and if, in pursuance of this object, this perishable body must depart, I shall account it great good fortune.

The Emperor made no reply, but the Guru was subsequently informed that he must pay the fine adjudicated or be imprisoned. A movement was set on foot to raise the amount of the fine by subscription, but the Guru absolutely forbade it. The second charge against him—that of impiety—was then renewed, with the result that he was offered the alternative of being put to death, or of expunging the alleged objectionable passages in the "*Granth*" and inserting the praises of Muhammad and the Hindu deities. The Guru replied :

The "*Granth Sāhib*" hath been compiled to confer on men happiness and not misery in this world and in the next. It is impossible to write it anew and make the omissions and alterations thou requirest.

On this he was, according to the custom of the age, put to the torture as a preliminary to his execution.

He was seated in a caldron heated with a blazing fire, and red-hot sand was thrown over him. It is said that the Guru, in the intervals allowed his torturers to gather strength for fresh exertions, composed the following :

When very great troubles befall, and nobody receiveth one ;
When enemies pursue and relations flee away ;
When all from whom man looked for assistance have fled, and all succour is at an end ;
If he then remember God, no hot wind shall strike him.
God is the strength of the strengthless.
He neither cometh nor goeth ; He is permanent ever ; by the Guru's instruction know Him as the True One.
If man be weak from the pangs of nakedness and hunger ;
If he have not a kauri in his pocket, and there be none to console him ;
If no one gratify his aims and desires, and he be never successful,
Yet, if he remember God, he shall obtain a permanent kingdom.

To the praise of the female sex, the daughter-in-law of an inveterate enemy of the Guru found her way to him in prison, closely guarded though he was, gave him sherbet and food, and consoled him like a ministering angel from on high.

Guru Arjan, at his death, was fully convinced that his Sikhs could now protect their lives and property only by the force of arms, and accordingly he left an injunction to his son, Har Gobind, to sit fully armed on a temporal as well as a spiritual throne, and maintain such an army as his circumstances would permit.

The history of his son, Har Gobind, who succeeded him, is rather secular than religious ; so is the history of his two successors, Gurus Har Rai and Har Krishan. They were followed by Guru Teg Bahādur, who lived in the time of the bigoted Emperor Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb caused him to be arrested and brought before him in Delhi. He then addressed the Guru :

It is my pleasure that there should be but one religion. Hinduism is false and worthless, and those who profess it shall suffer punishment hereafter. I pity them, and therefore wish to do them a favour. If they of their own accord keep the Muhammadan festivals and fasts, and repeat the Muhammadan creed and prayers, I will reward them with wealth, appoint-

ments, revenue grants, and lands with irrigating wells. In this case thou, too, shalt have many disciples, and thou shalt become a great priest of Islam. Therefore accept my religion, and thou shalt receive from me whatever thy heart desireth.

The Guru replied :

O Emperor, thou and I and all people must walk according to God's will. If it were His will that there should be only one religion, He would not have allowed the Muhammadan and Hindu religions to exist. He hath no partner, and can do as He pleaseth ; neither thou nor I can oppose Him.

According to a Muhammadan historian, Aurangzeb caused Guru Teg Bahādur's body to be cut up into pieces and suspended in different parts of the imperial capital, Delhi, as a warning and a terror to all enemies of Islam.

Guru Teg Bahādur's hymns, which were composed during his incarceration, breathe an eminently quietistic spirit and resignation to God's will. He descants on the hollowness of the world, the inherent perversity of the human heart, and the instability of friendship. He wrote several such verses as the following :

I have seen that the love of the world is false ;
Everybody, whether wife or friend, is intent on his own welfare ;
Everybody speaketh of his relations and attacheth his heart to them with love ;

But at the last moment nobody will accompany him.

The praise of God entereth not into the heart of man ;

Day and night he remaineth absorbed in mammon ; how shall he sing God's praises ?

In this way he bindeth himself to children, friends, mammon, and selfishness.

This world is false as a mirage ; yet man on beholding it fleeth after it.

The Lord, the Cause of happiness in this world and the next, is forgotten by the fool.

Among millions few there are who find the way to worship God.

O good people, in God's asylum there is rest.

The man who is untouched by covetousness, worldly love, selfishness, joy, and sorrow,

And who is not a slave to his passion, is the image of God.

He who in adversity repineth not,

Who in prosperity feeleth neither affection nor fear, and who deemeth gold as dross ;

Who uttereth neither praise or blame, and who suffereth not from avarice, worldly love, or pride ;

Who is unaffected by joy or sorrow ;

Who hath renounced all hopes and desires, and expecteth nothing from the world ;

Whom lust and wrath touch not—in that person's heart God dwelleth.

There is an anecdote of his prison life which, as it is of the highest political importance, I shall give. One day, as he was on the top storey of his prison, the Emperor thought he saw him looking towards the south, in the direction of the imperial *zanāna*. He was sent for next day, and charged with this grave breach of Oriental etiquette and propriety. The Guru replied :

Emperor Aurangzeb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy private apartments or at thy queens ; I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy *pardas* and destroy thine empire.

A Sikh writer states that these words became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on Delhi in 1857 under General John Nicholson, and that thus the prophecy of the ninth Guru was gloriously fulfilled.

Successful as Sir John Lawrence was in the part he took in quelling the Indian Mutiny in Upper India, the Sikhs of the Panjāb would never have gone to Delhi at his bidding but for this prophecy of Guru Teg Bahādur. The recollection of this address still powerfully contributes to Sikh loyalty to our countrymen in India.

When Guru Gobind Singh succeeded his father, Guru Teg Bahādur, he naturally remembered the persecutions and injunctions of his predecessors. He procured a supply of sharp-pointed arrows, and practised archery with great industry. Several circumstances caused him to be at variance with petty chiefs who dwelt in the lower Himālayas. As some of his troops threatened a defection on the threat of hostilities, he uttered the following :

Be loyal to your sovereign ; leave death and life in the hands of God. Desert not your posts, abandon not your duty, and you shall be happy in

this world and the next. If you die in battle, you shall obtain glory to which not even monarchs can aspire. Shame not your sires and your race. He who forsaketh his master in battle shall be dishonoured here and condemned hereafter. The vultures, knowing him to be disloyal, will not touch but spurn his flesh. He shall not go to heaven hereafter, nor obtain glory here; abundant disgrace shall light upon his head. Be assured of this—that human birth shall be profitable to him who loseth his life with his face to the foe. For all the drops of blood that fall from his body, so many years shall he enjoy the company of his God.

When the hill chiefs absolutely charged him with aggression and declared war on him, he replied :

My Sikhs have only come into collision with those who wantonly annoyed them. The Sikhs are ever awaiting battle. To fight and die is the duty of the brave. Come and see the power of the Sikhs.

As the allied armies approached to contend with him, he uttered the following :

Eternal God, Thou art our shield,
The dagger, knife, the sword we wield.
To us Protector there is given
The timeless, deathless, Lord of heaven ;
To us All-steel's unvanquished might ;
To us All-time's resistless flight ;
But chiefly Thou, Protector brave,
All-steel, wilt Thine own servants save.

The Guru gained a signal victory in the battle of Bhangāni. Notwithstanding this, however, he continued to be embroiled in hostilities* with his enemies of the mountains. On hearing that they had again decided to give him annoyance, he proclaimed as follows :

What God willeth shall take place. When the army of the Turks cometh, my Sikhs shall strike steel on steel. The Sikhs shall then awake and know the play of battle. Amid the clash of arms the Sikhs shall be partners in present and future bliss, tranquillity, meditation, virtue, and divine knowledge. Then shall the English come, and, joined by the Sikhs, rule as well in the East as in the West. The holy Bāba Nānak shall bestow all wealth on them. The English shall possess great power, and by force of arms take possession of many principalities. The combined armies of the English and Sikhs shall be very powerful as long as they rule with united councils. The empire of the English shall vastly increase, and they shall in every way attain prosperity. Wherever they take their armies they shall conquer, and bestow thrones on those who assist them.

Then in every house shall be wealth, in every house happiness, in every house rejoicing, in every house religion, in every house learning, and in every house a woman.

At the conclusion of the Guru's apocalypse the Sikhs respectfully bowed.

One of the most important acts of Guru Gobind's life was the institution of his Pahul, or baptism. He appointed a day for an open-air gathering of his Sikhs, and, when all were seated, he drew his sword, and asked if there was anyone among his beloved Sikhs ready to lay down his life for him. He found five men absolutely willing to do so. He baptized them, and they in turn baptized him. After giving them some instructions regarding dress, he added the following injunctions: They must always wear long hair, a comb for it, short drawers, and a steel bracelet. They were enjoined to practise arms, and not show their backs to the foe in battle. They were ever to help the poor and protect those who sought their protection. They must be faithful to their wedded spouses. They were to consider their previous castes erased, and deem themselves all brothers of one family. Sikhs were freely to intermarry, but must have no social or matrimonial relations with smokers, with persons who killed their daughters, or with those who had fallen away from the tenets and principles of their Gurus. They must not worship idols, but must believe in the one Immortal God. They must rise at dawn, bathe, read the prescribed hymns of the Gurus, meditate on the Creator, and be loyal to their masters.

The Guru's teaching and example had the magical effect of changing a pariah, or outcast, through an interminable line of heredity, into a brave and staunch soldier, as the history of the Sikh Mazhabi regiments conclusively proves. This metamorphosis has been accomplished in defiance of the hide-bound prejudices and conservatism of the old Hindu religious systems. Prior to the time of the Sikh Gurus no Asiatic general ever conceived the idea of raising an army from men who were believed to be unclean and

polluted from their birth; but the watchword and war-cry of the Sikhs, "Wāhguru ji ka Khālsa, Wāhguru ji ki fatah"—the Khalsa of God, victory to God—and the stimulating precepts of the tenth Guru altered what had hitherto been deemed the dregs of humanity into warriors whose prowess and loyalty never failed their leaders.

The Guru wrote verses to stimulate the bravery of his Sikhs, and he also had portions of one of the Hindu Purāṇas translated with the same object. In the course of subsequent warfare he was besieged in Anandpur, but, after a heroic defence, obliged to evacuate it. Two of his sons were subsequently slain in open warfare. His two youngest sons were betrayed by a Brahman to the Muhammadans and murdered, and his mother gave up her spirit on hearing of the inhuman sacrifice of their young lives.

After another unsuccessful battle, the Guru made his way to the South of India, where he was subsequently killed by a Muhammadan. He was not successful in realizing the hope to which he gave expression in the following lines :

Grant me, Divine Power, this boon—that I may never flinch from noble deeds ;

And that when I go to fight I may not fear the enemy, but make certain of my victory ;

That I may school my mind to the ardent desire to sing Thy praises ;

And that, when my last moment cometh, I may die fighting in a very mighty battle !

The Sikhs claim that their religion prohibits idolatry, hypocrisy, caste exclusiveness, the concremation of widows, the immurement of women, the use of wine and other intoxicants, tobacco-smoking, infanticide, slander, pilgrimages to the sacred rivers and tanks of the Hindus ; and it inculcates loyalty, gratitude for all favours received, philanthropy, justice, impartiality, truth, honesty, and all the moral and domestic virtues known to the holiest Christians. It would be difficult to point to a more comprehensive ethical code.

The Sikh religion mainly differs from Christianity in

that it inculcates the transmigration of the soul, and an ampler belief in destiny than is perhaps compatible with great success in civil life. The belief in destiny, however, has made the Sikhs some of the finest and most daring soldiers in the world. No change of their religion could make them braver or more loyal.

To my mind, Sikhism offers fewer points of attack than any other theological system, and, if patronized and cherished as its religious and political importance deserves, by a powerful Government, it might become one of the first religions on this planet; but under a Government policy of what is called "religious neutrality" the Sikhs are not only reverting to Hinduism, but embracing the cult of atheism, if not the baneful political practices attendant thereon. The Rajah of Kapūrthala, once a Sikh State, has openly renounced Sikhism. The Panjāb chiefs, who are nominal Sikhs, have generally been brought up among Hindus or some other *entourage* fatal to their orthodoxy. It is too often forgotten that the orthodoxy of a Sikh means loyalty to his Sovereign. This statement will be understood by anyone who cares to make himself fully acquainted with the advantages to the Government of India of a rigid belief in Sikhism and faith in their Gurus.

The Sikhs are not loved by the other races of India, and this I know full well from personal experience. They saved the Indian Empire in 1857, and they have been our most loyal and devoted subjects and among our bravest soldiers in the hour of need. Sir John Malcolm, one of the keenest European observers who ever went to India, wrote: "Wherever the religion of Guru Gobind prevails, the institutions of Brahma must fall. The admission of proselytes, the abolition of the distinctions of caste, the eating of all kinds of flesh, the form of religious worship, and the general devotion of all Sikhs to arms, are ordinances altogether irreconcilable with Hindu mythology, and have rendered the religion of the Sikhs obnoxious to the Brahmins and higher tribes of the Hindus."

Indian races, and especially the Sikhs, have been in the habit of calling the English their *mā bāp*—that is, their fathers and mothers. Fathers and mothers generally look after the religious education of their children. Even if they do not, and only regard their temporal interests, their children may all be dear to them; but in practice and in human nature parents have generally one special favourite, more particularly when the child is not loved by the other members of the family.

This policy of religious neutrality, an expression which contains an ingenious sophistry, was inaugurated a century ago. It was believed that if the Indian Government gave no support to any of the indigenous religions of the country, its inhabitants would sooner or later in a body embrace Christianity. That belief has been signally and cruelly disappointed. No one who knew anything of the Indian religious systems ever thought it would be fulfilled. But the rulers of India, for want of a school of Oriental learning in this country, rarely possess more than a scanty acquaintance with its religions, and are too apt to regard them as heathen beliefs unworthy of study or attention.

Even if the people of India were to embrace Christianity, many able and experienced thinkers have contended that that would not be, at any rate, to their temporal advantage, nor would it make them more loyal to our gracious Monarch. A recent writer in an appreciative notice of my work on the Sikh religion, in the *Expository Times*, thinks that it would. But has the belief in Christianity by the subjects of the Tsar tended to make certain strata of the Russian population more loyal and devoted subjects? England was a very Christian country, the home of Puritanism, when it executed Charles I. France was a fairly Christian country when the French people decapitated Louis Seize on the Square of the Revolution. Moreover, were the inhabitants of India all Christians, is it not likely that they would have more members of the English House of Commons and others suggesting grievances and disaffec-

tion to their benevolent rulers, and claiming for them what are called the "full rights" of British citizens—rights the exercise of which, in the opinion of several great men, are leading even this hitherto loyal country with hastening pace towards a revolution? If we take another view of the question, would not the natives of India, if converted to Christianity, be in a better position to combine against the ruling power than they are now, when they are the votaries of antagonistic religious systems?

Though religion and morals were originally distinct, they are now generally combined as potent influences for the guidance of mankind. Most religions possess useful, soul-satisfying, and ennobling precepts, and generally the followers of the vast congeries of beliefs over the world raise their voices to the Almighty and worship Him with one accordant hymn. Persons of liberal and thinking minds—such as are, I hope, possessed by those I have the privilege of addressing—may often reflect in their tranquil moments that, until there are more stable foundations of belief, it would be well not to disturb the minds of the professors of, at any rate, the great religions of the world, but let them indulge their own hopes of eternal beatitude with minds undisturbed by jarring controversies, and pursue the varied paths by which they conceive that their hopes would ultimately be realized.

THE TRIBES ON OUR NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.*

BY T. L. PENNELL, M.D., B.SC., F.R.C.S.

THE subject with which I intend to deal to-night is that of the Independent Tribes on the North-Western Frontier of our Indian Empire, and our mutual relations with them. By a reference to the map, you will see that they occupy a strip of territory about 800 miles long, and of very variable width, from Kashmir in the north to Baluchistan in the south.

To the east of them is our Indian Empire, and to the west Afghanistan, the boundary on this side being formed by the Durand Line, which was laid down in 1894.

In order to make more effective the political control of this frontier, Lord Curzon separated off the North-West Frontier Province from the Punjab in 1901, containing the five districts of Abbottabad, Peshawur, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. The Chief Commissioner of this Province is in direct relation with the Viceroy and his Council.

This independent area is dissected by transverse strips of territory, which are neither wholly tribal nor out-and-out British, but are termed administered areas, because they are administered by political officers, who interfere as little as possible with tribal custom and internal economy, yet safeguard British interests by controlling the relations of the tribes and keeping open the trade-routes; for you will observe that each of these areas coincides with one of those mighty and historic passes which connect the uplands of Afghanistan with the plains of India—the passes through Chitral and Dir on the north, then the great Khyber Pass, and farther south the Kurram, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan Passes.

I shall endeavour to confine my remarks as much as

* The discussion on this paper, read before the East India Association, will appear in our next number.

possible to the area thus defined, only mentioning Afghanistan and British India just so far as they bear on the peoples inhabiting this district.

These parts are inhabited by a number of different tribes, of which the Afridis, Wazirs, and Mahsuds, are perhaps the most important. All go by the name "Afghan," or "Pathan," or "Pukhtun." It is best to keep the name of Afghan for those Afghan tribes which are directly under the rule of the Amir, and therefore within Afghanistan proper ; but you must remember that they are just as truly Afghan as the Duranis or Barakzais, and that many of the tribes within our own borders, such as the Yusufzais or the Khattaks, are racially equally entitled to be called "Afghan."

The term "Pukhtun" is used very largely by the people themselves, and may be conveniently used for any who speak the Pushtu (or Pukhtu) language.

"Pathan" is a name which may conveniently be reserved to designate the Pushtu-speaking tribes on our border and within the Durand Line, thus distinguishing them from the Afghans. The people use this name very widely in speaking of themselves, though it is commoner to hear them use the tribal designation such as Wazir, Afridi, or Sabzai. Our Indian regiments are largely recruited from the Pathans on both sides of the border, but naturally not from the Afghans. Ethnologically we find a number of earlier races furnishing their quota to the Pathan ancestry ; Greek, Scythian, Israelite, Tartar, Arab, and Rajput, have all had their share.

In Kanigoorum and neighbouring parts of the Mahsud country a remarkable language called "Ormuri" or "Bragitza" is spoken, which points to a Tartar origin. The Turis of the Kurram Valley have a tradition that they came from Kalabagh on the Indus and may be traced to the Rajputs. The term "Taji" or "Tazi" is applied to those clans which have an origin from domiciled Arabs ; among the Kafir tribes of the north we meet with clans which have descended from Greeks who had colonized the valleys to the north of the

Kabul River before the time of Alexander, and received accessions, no doubt, from contingents of his army.

The traditions that point to an Israelitish origin of the Afghan are so widely met with and so remarkable, that they can only be explained on the supposition that the Assyrian conqueror sent large numbers of his Israelitish captives to people the highlands of Afghanistan, and that their descendants are still to be found among these people. Their physiognomy is so singularly Semitic that it has been remarked on by almost every traveller. Their names and many of their customs are probably only just so far Jewish as they are Muhammadan, but they have some customs which are not found among other Muhammadans, and it may reasonably be conjectured that these are handed down from their Israelitish ancestors. For instance, it is a common thing to find that, when a member of a household is seriously ill, the senior member of the family takes a goat or a sheep, and, after despatching it with an "Allahu Akbar," sprinkles some of its blood on the lintel and doorposts in order to ward off the Angel of Death. Again, on occasions of pestilence or some widespread disaster, a priest sometimes takes a goat and places his hands on its head, and, repeating certain verses from the Qurân, commits the sins of the people to it and turns it out into the mountains.

The Afghans have an elaborate genealogy, which traces their descent to Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin, and certainly no epigram could better describe the frontier tribes than the words in which Jacob apostrophized his youngest son in Gen. xlix. 27 : " Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf : in the morning he shall devour the prey, in the evening he shall divide the spoil."

These Pathans of the Borderland remind one very much of the Scottish clans of the days of Border chivalry. Like so many mountain races, they have an intense love of country and impatience of control ; they are so democratic that even their own chiefs have only won their position by

force of arms or force of character, by being *primus inter pares*. They are never at peace, except when they are at war—that is to say, their own tribal and family feuds are so constant and so fierce that it takes a real danger from the aggression of some outside foe to induce them to work together for mutual defence.

Take, for instance, the numerous and warlike tribe of the Wazirs. These are divided into two great sections, which go by the name of the Darwesh Khels and the Mahsuds, and these two are sworn foes, and those of one side seldom trust themselves to visit the country of the other.

The Darwesh Khels are again subdivided into a number of clans—the Kabul Khels, Turi Khels, Madda Khels, and so on. These have frequent feuds with each other, and seldom intermarry. The Kabul Khel clan has a number of subsections, such as the Miamai, Muhammad Khel, and others. These, too, frequently carry on virulent feuds with one another. But we can go farther, for once when in their lands I found two Miamai villages which were at feud with each other, and an escort from one village took me as far as some neutral ground between the two villages, and there I was to wait for the escort from the next village, for the two escorts could not have approached each other without danger of bloodshed.

Once I was stopping with a friendly chief in the village of Peiwar, where Lord Roberts fought the well-known action of 1879. The village was chiefly composed of one long street, and at the end of the street was the stream supplying the village with water. I noticed that there were little doors, scarcely more than holes in the wall, from house to house down the street. In answer to my inquiry my host told me that a few years back there had been a fierce feud in the village, and that the men on one side of the street were in one party and the men on the other side in the other party, and that they kept up a fusillade at each other across the street, and that these apertures were to enable them to fetch water from the stream without being

exposed, both sides agreeing to make the water-supply neutral ground, so that the feud might not be too hurriedly terminated for want of water. I saw sundry bullet-holes in the door and wooden windows of the apartment in which I was sitting, and my host pointed out these relics of the fray with gusto: "Through this one my brother was shot, and through that one, in the window there, my uncle." While I was examining these grim mementos, a burly Pathan entered, and my host continued to me: "This is the man that shot my uncle." I must have appeared astonished at the familiar terms on which he now seemed to be with his quondam antagonist, so he went on to explain: "You see, we are good friends now; we have killed an equal number in his family, so our score is even."

With tribes of this character to deal with, it is not surprising that the problem of our relations with them has baffled some of our best politicians, and that the most opposite views have been held by frontier officers of equal acumen and experience. The more democratic the people and the more the people become independent of their tribal chiefs the greater is the difficulty of the problem of government. In places like Dir and Chitral, where the Nawab of Dir and the Mihtar of Chitral have power comparable to that of a Maharaja of an Indian State, the problem is the easiest; among the Afridis the chiefs (or "maliks" as they are called) have got considerable power, but they are far too numerous, and in many cases dare not treat without referring everything but the most trivial matters to the judgment of the whole tribe. Among the Wazirs and Mahsuds the problem is most difficult of all, as every man who possesses a modern rifle thinks himself as good as anyone else, and refuses to be bound by the decision of the tribal elders unless he chooses, or is compelled by *force majeure*.

Unfortunately, too, the effect of our policy has been to take away the remnant of power which the maliks did possess, and to leave no one of influence with whom to

deal, so that it became necessary to treat with all the democratic and discordant elements themselves. A notable example of this occurred some years ago in our dealings with the Mahsuds. Pressure was brought to bear on some maliks to deliver up some prominent bad characters, who had committed several murders on our side of the border. Between the devil and the deep sea—in this case the political officer and tribal feeling—the poor chiefs were obliged to choose one or other; they chose the devil, delivered up the murderers, and were themselves murdered by others of the tribe for doing so, and the British were unable to save them. Naturally, the turbulent elements of the tribe were quick to see that neither the fact of being chiefs, nor that of being supported by the British Government, was able to save them, so patriarchal government had a set back and turbulence a set forward.

In considering the best way of dealing with these people, it is well to remember that for a long time they were incorporated in the territory of the Amir. When the Amir ruled up to the River Indus, and had his winter capital at Peshawur, these tribes lay right across his path as he journeyed to his summer capitals of Kabul or Kandahar. How did he deal with them? Well, firstly we may say that he had as little to do with them as he possibly could; secondly, he took good care that they should clearly understand that he was master and they the vassals.

He recognized that they inhabited a barren, inhospitable country, and could not be expected to pay much revenue; but he rarely made them fixed allowances, except possibly for the custody of the road, though he frequently made them large presents. In this he was acting on Oriental custom, which is, unfortunately, too often lost sight of by our Governments. When a fixed allowance is given, it is looked on as akin to the money paid to the supreme authority by a vassal country, while it is the province of Kings to make liberal presents to those who have pleased them. I have frequently heard these Pathans talk of the tribute

which is paid by the British to the Amir of Afghanistan, and they regard it in that light, while their own tribal allowances they come to look on, not as payment for services rendered, but as blackmail for not making themselves objectionable. We can certainly say that, when they were nominally vassal to the Amir, the presents were conditional on their good behaviour; and that, if they raided on his subjects, his hand was heavy enough and long enough to reach them very unpleasantly in their mountain fastnesses; and that he would not be at all squeamish as to the nature of the punishment with which he would visit them. When the ruler was in trouble, when, for instance, there was a rival to the throne, these tribes had to be bought over, and the man with the bigger treasury and larger hand gained their allegiance. But the man who paid them knew perfectly well that their allegiance was mercenary and not to be counted on longer than the treasure lasted. We sometimes imagine that when the tribe has been receiving an allowance for a series of years, it may consider itself under an honourable obligation to stand by us in a time of need; but I doubt whether this idea is ever entertained by the tribes themselves, or whether, if it were put to them, they would even consider that the matter of honour entered into the question at all.

What the Pathans do understand by "honour," which they call "izzat," or its opposite, which they call "sharm," it is very difficult to say. They themselves are unable to explain it, except by a series of examples, in many of which we should be inclined to see more treachery than honour. But then, that is one of the many paradoxes of the Pathan character, in which courage blends with stealth, the basest treachery with the most touching fidelity, intense religious fanaticism with an avarice which will induce him even to play false to his faith, and a lavish hospitality with an irresistible propensity for thieving.

It has seemed to me that one great reason why, notwithstanding our superior justice and organization, we do not

succeed so well in governing these turbulent tribes on our frontier as the Amir, is that they understand his methods of government, while we remain an enigma to them. They glory in the principle that "might is right"; we, on the other hand, though we usually act on that adage in the gross, preach the opposite, and try to make others follow our preaching. A Pathan knows thoroughly well how a neighbouring malik would treat him if he got the chance, and how he would retaliate on the malik. There is no doubt about it at all, and the Amir is to them only a kind of glorified malik; but the British Government—the "Sarkar"—God only knows what they are likely to do; so keep your counsel, with rifle ready and your eye on the main chance. This is well illustrated by a little episode that happened in the experience of a political officer, a friend of mine. He was seated with a number of the headmen of one of the independent tribes, on the top of one of their rugged mountains, from which you look down on Afghanistan to the west and India to the east. They had been touring with him as his escort for some days. He had fed them well and could chat familiarly with them in their own lingo, so that they had learnt to talk with him without reserve about even their tribal secrets.

"Now, tell me," said the officer, "if there were to be war, which God forbid, between Russia and England, what part would you and your people take? Whom would you side with?"

"Do you wish us to tell you what would please you, or to tell you the real truth?" was the naïve reply.

"I adjure you only to tell me what is the 'white word,'" (true statement).

"Then," said an old greybeard among them, voicing the feelings of all present, "we would just sit up here on our mountain-tops, watching you both fight, until we saw one or other of you utterly defeated; then we would come down and loot the vanquished to the last mule! God is great! What a time that would be for us!"

What, then, should be our political relations with these people? The two opposite policies are best known as the policy of "masterly inactivity" and the "forward policy"; but between these two extremes are many intermediate policies which have all had their advocates. The policy of masterly inactivity usually associated with the name of Lawrence in reality indicates more the policy recommended towards Afghanistan itself than towards the tribes on our border. What might be called the policy of non-interference with these tribes stands on somewhat different grounds, and though now it is no longer a feasible policy, yet at the time it was first advocated there was much to be said for it, and had it been possible to consistently follow it might have saved the nation much expenditure in life and money. Our position, however, across the Indus led to almost inevitable conflicts with the frontier tribes; then came retaliations, establishment of military and police posts, adjustments of the frontier, and complications which resulted in the forward policy which was so ably carried out by Sir Robert Sandeman and his lieutenants.

I recently came across some articles contributed in the year 1869 by Bellew to the *Calcutta Englishman*. He enumerates the three policies which were at that time advocated as remedies for the disturbed state of the frontier: (1) the formation of a militia from the tribes concerned; (2) an Afghan alliance; (3) the occupation of the Kurram Valley. He argues that it is ridiculous to suppose that any one of these, or even all three together, would, in any final or permanent way, pacify the frontier, and that the only real solution is to make our own boundary co-terminous with that of Afghanistan. Since then all three have been taken, but we are still debating whether it is necessary or not to adopt Bellew's policy of a single boundary.

One of the best characteristics of these frontiersmen, and to us one of the most useful, is the fidelity they display towards leaders who have won their attachment. It is well

known how wild tribesmen recently enrolled in a militia have stuck to their officers, even when they had to fight against their own kith and kin. In the Khyber on one occasion they remained true to their salt, even after their officers had been taken away. Once, some troops went out from Bannu to capture an outlaw's tower, where some very dangerous characters had ensconced themselves. After the troops had surrounded the tower and cut off their escape, the political officer went out to the base of the tower unarmed to induce the men to surrender. All the outlaws inside had several murders to their account, and they contemptuously refused to parley, but they restrained their fire till the political officer was safely back in his own lines, when they all died game.

The outlaws and irreconcilables are usually only a small section of the tribe, but they are generally able to make the whole tribe do as they wish. This is, firstly, because they are desperate and dare-devil characters, who hesitate at no danger, rejoice in bloodshed, and stick at nothing; secondly, they have no lands within British territory which can be confiscated like many of the tribes, or it may be that they had lands and these have been confiscated, and they are bent on revenge; thirdly, in nine cases out of ten, they have the support of the mullahs; fourthly, owing to our principle of tribal responsibility, they can manage so to implicate the whole tribe, that even the peace-loving sections are forced to throw in their lot with them.

These men and the mullahs not unnaturally look on British occupation as something to be resisted to the last gasp; but the larger sections of the tribes—those with lands, merchandise, and fixed interests—would probably rejoice in the many advantages which would accrue to them under British rule. I once saw a remarkable instance of how the value of land is enhanced under the more settled tenure obtaining on our side of the border. In Miranzai our border runs along the top of a mountain-range. The fields are alike on both sides of the mountain,

but the letting value on the British side was seven times that on the independent side. This was simply because on the British side the husbandman could tend his lands in peace, while, on the other, he could not even plough or sow without having his rifle slung across his shoulders, and might at any time be ousted by another man who had more rifles or a tower commanding the fields. Often men are unable to cultivate lands which have been theirs for generations, but are so far from the village walls as to be beyond the range of their rifles, or are dominated by some rival village.

That in some points our rule is not the most ideal for people of such a semi-barbarous civilization I suppose no one would question; there are two points about which I constantly hear complaints from these frontiersmen—one is the protection and even encouragement which we afford to usurers, and the other is the tardiness and intricacy of our justice. Let me give you an anecdote in illustration:

I was once travelling across the border, and had for my guide a Pathan who, like so many one meets with across the border, was a fugitive from justice. He related to me his story in much the following words: "Once I went into partnership with a Hindu contractor on the understanding that while he provided the capital and kept the accounts, I did the outdoor work of engaging the labour, supervising the coolies, and so forth. Well, I spent three years of hard work, scorched in the sun all day and chilled to the marrow all through the winter nights, and expending my life-energy in looking after gangs of wretched coolies and mending roads. At the end of that time that lazy pig of a Hindu was a wealthy man, up to the elbows in ghee, while I had nothing more than what I started with, and had lost my health into the bargain. I went to him, and told him I had done with my partnership; let him share the earnings. He offered me a few rupees, and when I refused such an insult, he turned me out of his house. I filed a petition against the pig, but what was I, an unlearned fellow, who

had kept no accounts because I had been his friend since we were boys and trusted him? He got a pleader and a barrister to lie in court for him, and bribed a lot of witnesses, and my case was thrown out. I appealed to the Sessions Judge, because I was sure that as I was true my case would win. But there, too, the rascal was too sharp-witted for me. It was before noon when judgment was given, the shadow had not yet turned; but before the afternoon prayers came round that pig of a Hindu was a dead carcase, ready for the fires of Jehannam, with my knife stuck in him. Since then I have had to live this side of the border, though I pay occasional visits to my home of a night."

This reminds me of the anecdote of the Muhammadan who entered into partnership with a Hindu. The former was overbearing and truculent, and said that he was to have the first half of everything, that being the right of the faithful. Next day the Hindu was sent out to try his fortune. He came back at even with a fine fat cow which he had purchased for a song from a man who had just been imprisoned for debt. The Muhammadan was very pleased at the bargain, and when the Hindu came to his house in the evening for some grass and grain to feed it with he gave it without demur. The next morning he thought he would like a bowl of milk for breakfast, so went round to the house of the Hindu to fetch it; he found him just plastering his floor with the dung of the animal, and his daughter was making up the rest of the dung into fire cakes. "Good morning, Lala," said he to the Hindu; "I have come for a bowl of that milk." "Oh," said the Hindu, "my wife has already put that into the churn for ghee, but if you give me four annas my son will fetch you some milk from the market." "What the deuce do you mean?" said the Muhammadan; "did we not agree to share everything?" "Quite so," said the Hindu very suavely, "but then, remember, your Highness stipulated that you were to have the first half of everything, so the cow's head

falls to you and you must keep it filled with hay and grain, but the udders are in the half that falls to me."

The Hindus have always been the money-lenders on the frontier, but before our occupation they were the vassals of the Muhammadan, and were obliged to keep the interest on their loans within moderate limit and to maintain at least an outward semblance of poverty and humility, or they would run the risk of having their house burnt over their heads and perhaps their own throats cut.

Under the liberty of the British raj there is scarcely any limit to the extent to which a Hindu may not fleece an unfortunate borrower whom he gets into his grip, and the borrower seldom gets any satisfaction from the law courts. So even now we hear of a money-lender's house catching fire in an unaccountable way some night, and no one seems able to find any water or to care to help him until it is quite clear that all his account-books and mortgage deeds have been reduced to ashes.

We have had a long experience of educating these frontier tribesmen, as our mission school at Bannu was one of the earliest educational efforts on the frontier, and was started with a handful of Pathans in 1866. At that time the mullah fraternity were bitterly opposed, and excommunicated any who ventured to send their sons to learn. Finding, however, that many of the Khans were determined to get some education for their sons, they relented so far as to say: "Send your sons to school, but beware that they do not learn English, for that is the language of blasphemers, and will corrupt their faith. Before long it became evident that the Government required some knowledge of English for its clerks and other servants, and that the Hindus, with their greater aptitude for learning and absence of scruples about learning English, were gaining the best posts. The mullahs retreated a step further and said: "Well let them learn English, but mind the Padre Sahib does not teach them the Christian Scriptures, or they will assuredly be damned." However, some had the temerity and curiosity to

read even the Bible and listen to the Padre's teaching, and before long that restriction too followed the others, and now some of the leading mullahs themselves send their sons to read in our schools and live with us in our hostels. The wild spirit of the hills does not get tamed all at once. Some years ago, a well-known frontier mullah brought his three sons to me and left them in my charge, for his home was forty-four miles off, and intimated to me that they were very unmanageable boys, and that I had his permission to do anything I liked to them short of shooting them. His estimate of them was soon substantiated, and in the first week a master came to say that unless two of the three got a thrashing the discipline of his class would be at an end, and he might as well leave. The two boys got the thrashing, but that night their beds were empty and we never saw them again. One of them joined the Kohat Border Military Police a little later, but got in a scrape there too, and had to leave. A couple of years ago I received a letter from a political officer saying that he had a ward he did not know what to do with, but he thought that if only I would take him into my boarding-house something might yet be made of him. He was a boy of sixteen with anything but a good record, but I consented and promised to do my best for him. The day appointed for his admission came, but he did not arrive, so I wrote a reminder to the political officer. I got a letter back to say that he was very sorry, but just as he was preparing to send him the young ruffian had gone and shot his own brother in a fit of temper, and was arraigned on a charge of murder!

Well, a great deal has been accomplished since then, and now we have over 600 young fellows of the frontier studying in our Bannu school, coming from all the tribes of that neighbourhood, and even from across the border, and we have furnished some of the most distinguished of the political Tahsildars, personal assistants, and other Indian officials of the frontier. I am one of those who believe that mere acquisition of book-learning is a very small part

of the education which is chiefly needed in the India of to-day, and I have striven to develop the character of the young fellows committed to my charge even more than their brains. Physique, though always of importance, requires less fostering among these hardy and sport-loving frontier lads, and we have the satisfaction of being the first in sports of all the schools of the frontier. Our boys have just won outright the cup given by Major Waterfield at the time of the inauguration of the frontier province to the champion football team, and I took a party of our footballers a tour through India, during which we visited Karachi, Bombay, Hyderabad, Deccan, Masulipatam, Calcutta, and many other places, and played a number of schools, colleges, and private clubs, and found that our boys could win laurels even against the clubs of the large cities. The tour terminated in a tragedy at Calcutta, which was at that time seething with excitement over men from the North-West who were reported to be kidnapping children. We were mistaken for these kidnappers by an infuriated mob in the Bow bazaar, and seven of our team were carried to the hospital.

Medical work, too, is accomplishing great results along this frontier, and it is chiefly through the medical work that I am able to wander alone and unarmed among all the frontier tribes on both sides of the border. If you were to visit our outpatients' department you would find it crowded every morning by Pathans from all along the border, and in our hospital wards are men and women who have travelled down from Kabul, Ghazni, and every part of Eastern Afghanistan, and here they, for the time being, set aside their feuds and animosities and hobnob and chat together, and tell us weird tales of their distant homes. Last year we operated on nearly 400 cases of cataract; many of these blind came weary journeys occupying one or two months. Sometimes we meet a string of blind men coming down to our hospital, one man, perhaps, who is only blear-eyed, or is suffering from some complaint in a different

part of his anatomy at the head, and the others holding on by a stick each to the man in front of him in a file of six or seven blind. Two or three of these may have started from some village near Kabul a couple of months before and picked up the others on the way, poor old fellows who had heard of the surgeon at Bannu, but had been obliged to wait for some kind fate to help them along on the journey. How different the scene when they have been restored to sight, given a pair of spectacles, and sent on their homeward way rejoicing!

In conclusion, let me tell you a story which illustrates one of the tragedies of frontier life :

There was an old man living near Kabul who had been blind for some years. One day a man came to his village who had been operated on in the Bannu Hospital and received his sight. He determined, if God willed it, to journey to Bannu and ask the doctor to cure him too ; he put together the few rupees he possessed, and, with his wife and daughter, started off on foot a journey of 150 miles, over mountains and through rivers, and in dangers from robbers, and from storms and cold, the blind old man, his wife, herself blind in one eye and partially so in the other, and the little daughter of ten. On the way they fell among robbers. The men ruthlessly killed the helpless old man, carried off the little daughter, and left the hapless woman helpless and penniless, bereft of all she had in the world. Six weeks later the poor woman dragged herself, hungry, footsore and weary, into our hospital at Bannu. There her sight was restored to her, but who could restore her dead husband and lost daughter, or wipe the memory of that terrible night with the heartless robbers, and the weary, hungry trudge from village to village from Kabul down to Bannu?

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS.*

BY E. H. PARKER.

THIS volume is one of a series published by the trustees of the fund given by the late Mrs. Gibb, of Glasgow, to perpetuate the memory of her son, Elias John Wilkinson Gibb, who from his youth up to his death in December, 1901, had devoted his best energies to researches into the history, literature, philosophy, and religion of the Turks, Persians, and Arabs. It is intended in due course to publish the whole annotated Persian text of Rashid ed Din's *Djâmi' el-Tévarikh* in three further volumes, the complete contents of which accordingly, will be as follows :

1. History of the Turkish and Mongol tribes, of the ancestors of Genghiz-Khan (beginning with his remote female ancestor, Along-Goa), and of Genghiz-Khan himself.

2. History of Genghiz's successors, from his son Ogdai to his great-great-grandson Timur-Khan (successor to Kublai-Khan at Peking) ; of the appanaged sons of Genghiz-Khan ; and of the Mongol Governors of Persia, from Hulagu (Kublai's brother) to Ghazan (Hulagu's grandson).

3. History of Ghazan, of his brother and successor, Oldjaïtu, and of the last-named's son, Abu Saïd.

What we are now reviewing is an extra volume, being the introduction (in French, of course) to the above three coming volumes ; and as the notes to this introduction are mainly in French and Chinese, there is no particular diffi-

* "Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed Din," by E. Blochet ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vol. xii.), Luzac and Co.

culty in steering a course through the complicated facts. But, unfortunately for the general reader, there are considerable interlardings of Persian, either in the shape of wholesale quotations, or in the shape of short sentences and (presumably) proper names. With regard to this Persian part, we are, of course, totally ignorant; but, previously to going on with our thesis, we may say that a distinguished Persian scholar (who, however, modestly disclaims any profound acquaintance with mediæval Persian, such as Rashid's) volunteers the opinion that all M. Blochet's Iranian matters appear to have been set forth correctly, more especially the Avestic traditions about Iran and Turan, as represented in the *Pehlevi* books, together with M. Blochet's further developing remarks on this particular point (pp. 205 15). On p. 212, however, it is explained to us that *min-yazdān* (or *yesdān*, as our author has it) does not mean "[*venu*] du ciel," but "[*venu*] de Dieu," *yazdān*, originally a plural like *Elohīm*, being the regular *Pahlavi* (M. Blochet's *Pehlevi*) word for "God."

Having now relieved our intrusive mind of this Persian trifle which was weighing upon it, we now proceed to business from a Chinese point of view. Perhaps there is no first-class historical world-subject of which so little is accurately known to the majority of Westerners as the origin and imperial career of the Mongols. Of course, Sir Henry Howorth is easily first, so far as the English field is concerned, and, for anyone who has the patience to go through his two gigantic but extremely indigestible volumes, there is more than enough matter whereout to construct a concise and readable history. The present reviewer is one of those few who actually has conscientiously struggled with the ponderous tomes (1889); and not only that, he had the pleasure also of following with interest at a much earlier date Sir Henry's "Northern Frontagers of China," published in the (now, of course, defunct) *Phoenix* of 1871. One of the most readable and, indeed, charming, parts of M. Blochet's present Introduction is the vivid light in which he sets

before us the personal characters of Genghiz, Ogdai, Kuyuk, and Mangu Khans. The first three were, in most senses, barbarians pure and simple, though each possessed redeeming and forceful qualities of widely differing kind. Mangu was the first Mongol Khan to show traces of refined intellectual capacity, thus paving the way for his brother and successor, Kublai, the first Mongol Emperor of China, who was also the first of his race to abandon the simple tent life and succumb to gout and the Chinese *délices de Capue*. After him, the whole Mongol rule degenerated both in China and in Persia, as well as in Russia, Turkestan, and Manchuria. A great deal of this degenerating process may be read between the lines of Marco Polo's own narrative.

It is necessary, if the faintest interest is to be awakened in the general reader's mind, to explain that *Djâmi'el-Tevarikh* means *Somme des Chroniques*, for which, I suppose, the English words *Total Results of Enquiry into Available History* would be a fair, if roundabout, equivalent. This great work, put together at the order of Ghazan and Oldjaïtu Khans, Mongol rulers of Persia (1295-1316) at the time when their kinsman Timur-Khan (1294-1307) was reigning as Chinese Emperor at Peking (*i.e.*, Khan-balig or "Cambalu"), represents the Persian, or Western, view of Asiatic occurrences during that period, besides giving an account of the affairs of the local "world" generally, and the origin of the Turks, Mongols, and Persians in particular, antecedent to that time. On the other hand, we have the *Yuan Shih*, or the (hastily compiled) Chinese history of the Mongol dynasty (1206-1368), which, despite its defects, is, like all Chinese official histories, as truthful as good faith can make it. As M. Blochet well puts it (p. 131): "Rashid donne l'aspect persan de l'histoire des Mongols, le *Youen-ssé*" (*i.e.*, *Yuan-shih*) "l'aspect chinois et administratif." The accords and differences between these two great histories enable us to supplement and correct the one by the other, and, although there are other minor authorities—Mongol (*e.g.*, Sanang Setzen's work) and

Chinese (e.g., the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, or "Secret History of the Mongols")—still existing, it may be roundly said that, had the two standard works first cited perished, we should have known no more about Genghiz than we now know of his remote congener, Mao-tun, or Mëh-tëh (now identified with the Turkish word *Baghdur* or *Bëhadur*), the Hiung-nu (i.e., Hun, or Early Turk) Khan who, in 200 B.C., swept a great part of North Asia, and possibly Europe, exactly as Attila and Genghiz in turn swept parts of those two continents respectively 650 and 1,400 years later. Possibly, or even probably, both Europe and Asia had been in quite prehistoric times similarly swept over and over again by "Scourges of God" long before the Great Wall of China was at last built to keep out Baghdur's hosts, and possibly—or, perhaps, according to one exalted suggestion, probably—we may expect a "Yellow" invasion of the old kind once more in our own times. Until gun-powder was invented—and it was certainly *not* first used for cannons by the Chinese, even if it was invented by them at all—horses had the whole settled world at their feet; but now, it seems, the Yellow Scourges of trembling Europe must furbish up their wireless installations, their aeroplanes, and their dirigibles—even their taxi-carts for baggage—before they can hope for success against ever restless and ever inventive Europe.

The Introduction to M. Blochet's magnificent work—i.e., the extra volume preceding the as yet unpublished three volumes—is all that we are able to notice at present; but he has also been good enough to forward about 550 pages of the second of Rashid's three volumes (as above defined), the first volume being postponed, as less urgent, because the Russians have already dealt imperfectly with part of that portion. These 550 pages being in the original Persian, with only comparatively few footnotes in Chinese—which, without means of referring to the Persian words to be explained, are almost useless to us—it is indeed impossible to do anything at all with them, or say anything

about them, unless it be permissible to express a hope that the learned author intends later on to translate the whole work from the Persian into French, a task for which he is undoubtedly (as pupil and literary heir of Darmesteter) quite competent. Otherwise, who except Persian scholars can make use of his book? Although he handles such Chinese as he uses very carefully and intelligently, he leaves the general impression that he is not very familiar with original Chinese history. In this connection, however, a slight digression may be allowed in order to notice an ingenious theory of M. Blochet separately published in the *Revue de l'Orient-Chrétien* for 1908-09. It concerns the question of the sudden Chinese abandonment in the sixth century, A.D., of the old term *Ta-ts'in* in favour of *Fuh-lin* or *Fuh-lim*, when speaking of the Roman Empire, or at least of the Syrian, Armenian, and Pontus parts of it. M. Edouard Chavannes of Paris some years ago suggested (*T'oung Pao*, 1904, p. 37) that, on the analogy of εἰς τὴν πόλιν, or "into the city"—according to Mas'udi, the origin, through *Istanpolin*, of the Turkish word "Istambul," or "Stambul"—the Chinese *Fuh-lin* represented the Greek word *Polin*, or "the city" *par excellence*. Also that (the *Fuh-lin* King) *Po-to-lih* (A.D. 643) stands for βασιλεύς; and a later King, *Mieh-lih-i-Ling Kai-sa* (A.D. 1081), for the "Kaiser" or Cæsar, (Nicephorus) "Melissenus." But in order to arrive at this solution, M. Chavannes is driven to suppose that the syllable *to* should be *sih*, and the syllable *i* should be *ssî* (or *sz*). Dr. Hirth, who had already thirty years ago expressed the opinion that *Fuh-lin* meant "Bethlehem," and *Po-to-lih* "*patrik*" or *patricius*—the Aramæan "*batrirk*" or "patriarch" of the Nestorians, who practically ruled part of the easternmost Roman Empire under the sovereignty of the Constantinople Emperors—returns to the attack now (*American Oriental Society's Journal* vol. xxx., part 1, 1909), and wishes to change the syllable *i* into *sun*, so as to make "Melissen(us)," taking the syllable *ling* for *rum*, on the ground that a Chinese servant of his,

in once asking for a glass of "rum," called it a glass of *leng*.^{*}

The point of the above digression is this: The Norse empires of the Tartar nomads have, from the most ancient times up to the conquests of the Genghiz Khan and his successors, been the chief, if not the only, link connecting the Far West with the Far East. There was very little intimate knowledge conveyed by the sea routes. The settled Aryan races of Europe, as the settled tone-using races of China, have always been exposed to the domineering swoops of these Tartar horsemen, whether we call them Scythians, Huns, Ephthalites, Hiung-nu, Avars, Turks,

* Whilst I cordially accept all Dr. Hirth's learned conclusions touching the main arguments that *Po-to-lîk* (which at that date certainly was pronounced *Pa-ta-lîk*, and even now is *Po-to-lîk* in Canton) was either "Patricius" or Patriarchos, that *Kai-sa* was Cæsar, and possibly even that *Mieh-lîk-i* was just as likely as not to stand for "Melissenus" as for *Mêlik*, "Malik," or "King," I cannot accept either M. Chavannes' *Polin* or Dr. Hirth's *Bethlehem* as at all within the limits of reasonable probability. I have always held steadfastly by the view that *Fuh-lin* stands for *Ferrens*, or "Franks," and I have over and over again given full reasons, if not proofs, in support of this belief. Amongst other things, I may state that the Chinese at the same period use exactly the same character, *fuh*, to express the Arabic name *Dja-far* or *Dja-fer* (which they write *ch'a-fuh*, *djo* or *dja* still being the central coast form of *ch'a*). In view of Dr. Hirth's desire to identify *ling* with *rum* (on the ground that the Northern Chinese have no initial *r* and no final *m*), I may now point out that this argument works both ways, and makes it possible that *lin* or *lim* may stand for *rum* as well as for *leng*, especially as in Cantonese at this day the character in question is pronounced *lîm* or *lum* (as in the English word "lumber"). This brings us to M. Blochet's entirely new suggestion that *Fuh-lin* may stand for *Fer-lîm*, *Fy-rum*, *Frum*, *Hrum*, or *Rûm*—i.e., the "Roman" Empire of Constantinople, the Asia Minor parts of which are still so called. The reason he gives sounds so good that, whilst I adhere to *Ferrens*, or "Frank," until the matter shall have been further sifted, I cheerfully recognize the possibility of the Pehlevi *Hrum* (Armenian *Hrom*, softened by the Turks and Persians into *Frum*) being more likely, and think that *Mieh-lîk-i-Ling Kai-sa* may well stand for *Mêlik-i-Rum Kaisar*, "the King, Cæsar of (the empire of) Rûm." At all events, it will not do to accept the final *k* of *lîk* in one instance—*patrik*—and reject it in another *Meli(k)senus*; nor is the tampering with Chinese texts by substituting more convenient characters for those originals which stand in the way of a pet theory to be justified, except on clear and exceptional grounds.

Ouigours, Cathayans, or Mongols. Practically, there has never been but one race, and, for convenience' sake, we may call it Turkish, though it must be borne in mind that the tribal or national word "Turk" only came into existence at the period of our Heptarchy, and only endured amongst the Turks themselves as a national name about as long as our Heptarchy endured. The differences in language are no greater than the differences between German, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish. Just as successful tribes like the Franks, Angles, Saxons, Belgians, etc., ultimately gave their names to mixed nationalities or empires, so the petty subdivisions of the vast congeries of mounted tent-inhabiting nomads from first to last swept over exactly the same stretches of country—lying between the Yalu of Corea and the Dnieper—connected by loose attachments to one centre, if any one tribe was strong enough to create a centre and impose its name; or entirely self-contained and independent, if no such central driving force existed for the time being. When a great hero or genius arose, then he became eponymous, and the tribes clustered round him for the special excitement of organized raids upon Imperial capitals. A man with his wife and animals, living in a solitary tent hundreds of miles away from any other kinsman, friend, or enemy, as the case might be, was just as well able to support himself on the staff of life—*i.e.*, grass and water—as if he formed one unit of a tribe, a vassal state, or an empire. The necessities of life were in each case always at hand, and there was no permanent land ownership even by the hero. For luxuries, whether in the form of game, manufactures, or art, the individual nomad had to hunt, just as an aggregation of individuals had to raid; and the pleasurable excitements of carrying off a pheasant, an ox, a horse, a woman, a keg of whisky, a silk coat, or a band of musicians, seemed equally innocent to him, and all came within his or their daily routine, whether the victims were free beasts and birds, or "enslaved" Greeks, Persians, and Chinese, tied down to a settled existence as accumulators of movable

property on one spot. M. Blochet brings this point out very ably. From Bagdhur to Attila and Genghiz, none of these hordes ever seriously tried or even desired actually to govern the powerful civilized monarchies upon which they swooped; they were aware of their own deficiencies in literary knowledge and the methodical arts of government, besides being disinclined for the tedious application, worry, and care necessary in order to reign effectively as Cæsar, Shah-in-Shah, or Son of Heaven; not to speak of the differences in climate, the absence of willing and competent agents or co-operators, the charm of a simple life in the flat open, and the delights of perpetual change of scene.

One of the most startling novelties in M. Blochet's present treatise is his theory, almost amounting to proof, that the Vizier Rashid ed Din was not the real author of the great Persian history at all, and that the true authorship lay with an industrious literary colleague, "*un historien de métier*," named Abd Allah-el-Kashani, whom he meanly robbed of his birthright and a half share in the enormous reward received by Rashid from the "Emperor" Khorbanda Oldjaïtu in recognition of his (Rashid's) supposed historical services. M. Blochet follows up this inquiry very thoroughly and carefully, and compares the most complete existing copy of the *Djâmi'-el-Tévarikh*—the one in the British Museum—with the supposed "*fragment de la chronique écrite par Rashid*" of the Royal Prussian Library, in order to bring out his points. It is difficult for any critic who does not possess at least a superficial working acquaintance with Persian to do M. Blochet full justice in this regard; still less would it be permissible to presume upon an adverse opinion. There is one point, however, where perhaps criticism may be allowed. M. Blochet does not seem to make sufficient allowance for the inevitable ignorance of the majority of his readers. When he talks of Khorbanda, Khorbanda Oldjaïtu, the son of Ghazan, the Emperor (only locally), and so on, he is apt to forget that it ought to be made quite plain on every page exactly what

person it is that is spoken of on that particular page, without the necessity of the reader's referring to the index or to any other page. There are three Khorbandas and two Oldjaïtu in the index, two different books called "Zoubdet-el-Tévarikh," and many other instances where Arabs, Persians, or Mongols are called by their whole names, by part of their names, or by alternative names. The Index is certainly an extensive and liberal one, occupying about 90 pages out of 390, or nearly a quarter of the book; but it requires co-ordination, simplifying, and general overhauling. For instance, Abd Allah-el-Kashani is also known as Aboul-Kasem Abd Allah ibn Ali el-Kashani; but there is another Aboul Kasem (p. 144), whose name does not appear under that head in the Index at all. Again, the private name of the Manchu conqueror, T'ai-tsung (father of the first Manchu Emperor of China), is so sacred that few people in China ever know it, even cut in two, as Abkao, let alone in full, as Abkao Fulinga; yet M. Blochet mentions it upon p. 183 as though it were a current appellation, and does not give it in the Index at all, either under Abkao or under Fulinga.

There is a good deal more to say about M. Blochet's admirable work, and possibly we shall recur to it in a future number; meanwhile attention is called to a very fascinating and ill-understood subject in the hope that *Fachmänner* will rise to the occasion and throw fresh light upon the subject.

REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

GENERAL WORKS.

ON the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the "Musée Guimet" at Paris, a very interesting pamphlet* was published, which contains the history of this important museum of religions, and gives much information on its collections and its publications ("Revue de l'histoire des religions," "Annales du Musée Guimet," etc.). This museum, the Oriental collections of which (India, China, Japan, Egypt, etc.) are so rich, was founded by M. Guimet in 1879.

The friends of the much-regretted Jean Réville have published the lectures that he delivered at the Collège de France at the beginning of his professorship there, March to June, 1907. They were devoted to the study of successive phases of history of religions. These lectures, published according to the notes left by the author, are very remarkable. They combine vigour with an erudition that exhausts the subject, and a rare talent of exposition.† The work is divided into nine chapters: (1) The History of Religions in Ancient Times; (2) From the Advent of Christianity to the Appearance of Rationalism; (3) The Rationalism of the Eighteenth Century; (4) Primitive Revelation and Natural Religion; (5) The Renovators of the Study of Religions, Herder and Schleiermacher; (6) Hegel, the Symbolic School, the Mythical School; (7) The Philological School; (8) The Anthropological School; (9) The Historical School. We are under great obligations to Messrs.

* "Le Jubilé du Musée Guimet," 2^e édition. Lyon: A. Rey et C^{ie}, 1909.

† "Les phases successive de l'histoire des religions." Paris: E. Leroux, 1909 (Annales du Musée Guimet, bibliothèque de vulgarisation, tome 33).

Alphandéry and Macler, who have taken charge of this publication from the manuscript left by J. Réville.

A French translation of Brockelmann's "Summary of Semitic linguistic" has just come out, by W. Marçais and M. Cohen.* This translation is really a new edition of the book. It is a very interesting work, as all that comes from the pen of this author and from the translators. The book is merely a summary, which is to be regretted, with a subject that is so vast and so complicated. There is also much obscurity in the contents and in the arrangement of the book, which is too brief, and the technical terms are not sufficiently explained. A table of transliteration is a great omission. There ought to have been a table of the principal Semitic alphabets with the corresponding transliterations. Certain assertions of the author are very questionable: Semitic characters of the old Egyptian language; the Semitic language—the only origin of all Semites; the assertion that the origin of the Semitic alphabet is yet unknown, etc. The work, by its preciseness on questions touching phonetics and morphology, will be of service to specialists, who, however, will have to be very well up in the Semitic languages in order to be able to profit by it.

HEBREW AND BIBLICAL ARAMÆAN, THE TALMUD, MODERN HEBREW LITERATURE, ETC.

E. Koenig has undertaken the publication of a new dictionary of Hebrew and Aramæan of the Old Testament,† the first part of which has appeared. This dictionary is very comprehensive, and well put together. The author in compiling it has had the scientific, as well as the practical, side in view; to great exactness he adds precise conciseness in his *exposé* of the meaning of the words, and of the development of their meaning. He also

* "Précis de linguistique sémitique." Paris: P. Geuthner, 1910.

† "Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum alten Testament, 1^{te} Lieferung (aleph lamed). Leipzig: Dieterich, 1910.

takes great care to explain the proper nouns, and gives the transliteration of the parallels in Arabic, Ethiopian, Assyrian, and Aramæan equivalents. A happy innovation is the explanation of the Masoretic annotations, which are printed in the current editions of the Hebrew Bible. The typography is both neat and very legible. We can see from this that the practical and scientific purpose which the author pursued has been fully attained by him. He has put into the hands of the students an excellent tool for acquiring the biblical Hebrew and Aramæan, and for obtaining a knowledge of the Old Testament in the original text.

Eerdmans continues the publication of his "*Alttestamentliche Studien*," fasciculus iii. (*Das Buch Exodus*)* has just appeared.

We draw attention to an interesting commentary by Witton Davies on Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.†

We also draw attention to a real Benedictine work—the corrections of the Hebraic concordance of Mandelkern, by Sven Herner.‡ For one who knows the enormous work of Mandelkern, the labour of correction of such a colossal work inspires admiration.

Fasciculus xxxv. of the "*Dictionnaire de la Bible*," published by F. Vigouroux,§ has appeared. It contains a great number of articles important to Oriental studies: Ruth, Sabbath, Sacrifice, Sadducees, Solomon, Samaritans, Saul, Samuel, Salmanasar, etc.

To the edition of the Talmud of Babylon (text and German translation), by Lazarus Goldschmidt, a new fasciculus has been added (8^{ter} Band, 6^{te} Lieferung), containing the second half of the treatise on *Chôlin*. ||

* Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1909. Regarding this publication see our Report in January, 1909.

† "Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther: Introduction," revised version, with notes, maps, and index (*The Century Bible*). Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack.

‡ "Verbesserungen zu Mandelkerns grosser Konkordanz." Lund, 1909.

§ Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1910. || Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1909.

A forthcoming publication of a new critical edition of the Talmud of Babylon is advertised (vocalized text, German translation and commentary) by J. Fromer. We will refer to it when we have the first fasciculus before us.

H. Strack has just published in the collection of "Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin" two interesting volumes. The first contains the treatises of the Mishna: Sanhedrin-Makkoth,* text and translation, with a vocabulary and explanations. The second is entitled, "Jesus, the Heretics and the Christians, according to the Oldest Jewish Data,"† text, translation and explanations. This volume is especially worth attention. The author has collected the texts from the Mishna, the Targums, the Talmuds, etc., and from the tenets of the Greek and Latin Fathers, which acquaint one with the oldest opinions that the Jews had of Jesus, the heretics, and the Christians. The author has rendered a great service in collecting these scattered texts from works of which two (the Talmuds) are of colossal proportions. In translating and explaining them, he has brought them within the reach of all readers who are eager to instruct themselves in this particular domain.

We have to mention an English translation of the history of modern Hebrew literature (1743-1885), by N. Slouschz, of which we spoke in one of our former Reports.‡ This translation§ is enriched with an index, which is very valuable for consultation of the work.

The same author has published in the "Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres" (tome xii.,

* "Sanhedrin - Makkoth, die Mischnatraktate über Strafrecht und Gerichtsverfahren, nach Handschriften und alten Drucken," etc. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910.

† "Jesus, die Häretiker und die Christen, nach den ältesten jüdischen Angaben," etc. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910.

‡ July, 1903.

§ "The Renaissance of Hebrew Literature" (1743-1885), translated from the French by Henrietta Szold. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909.

2^e partie, Paris, 1909) an interesting work on "Un voyage d'études juives en Afrique." This work contains epigraphical and archæological documents from Tripoli (Barbary), from Djebel Iffren, from Nefussa, etc.—that is to say, from the north-west of the Tripoli country.

In the collection "Der alte Orient," R. Zehnfund has brought out an interesting monograph on the principal ruins of Babylonia,* accompanied by plans and several illustrations.

ISLAM, ARABIC, AND BERBER DIALECTS, ETC.

Volume iii. of the "Annali dell' Islām,"† published by L. Caetani, has just appeared; it comprises the years 13 to 17 of the hegira. One can realize the copiousness of the contents of this work, if he knows that the author has devoted to this period of five years 973 pages of text, preceded by an introduction (preface, bibliography, analytical index) of 83 pages, and illustrated with maps, plans of battles, phototypes, and fine photo engravings. This volume, like the former ones, is of an encyclopedic character, and literally exhausts the questions of which it treats. Also, as the author says in his preface, as the publication advances, each period reaches vaster proportions, so that the number of volumes that have still to appear is steadily growing. The author and his collaborators deserve the gratitude of the Arabists and the Orientalists generally. The monument that he raises to Islam, particularly to the history of the first years of the hegira, is a solid edifice, which will serve as a support and as a mine of information to numerous workers in the same field.

V. Chauvin has published in the "Bulletin de l'Académie royale d'Archéologie de Belgique" a very instructive essay on the works in Belgium that treat of Mohammedanism.‡

* "Babylonien in seinen wichtigsten Ruinenstätten," mit 16 Plänen der Ruinenfelder und drei Abbildungen. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910.

† Un vol. in 40. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1910.

‡ "L'étude du Mahométisme en Belgique." Anvers, 1900.

The same author has published a similar work on the study of Hebrew at Liège. One can judge from these memoirs what interest was taken, and is still taken, in Belgium in Oriental studies.

E. Cosquin has published a fascinating lecture, which is of considerable scientific value, on the prologue of "The Thousand and One Nights."* He rejects the thesis, according to which the origin of this prologue is to be found in the Persian legends, and denies all comparison between the legend of Esther and the one of Sheherazad. He establishes, on the other hand, in an ostensive manner, the Indian origin of the prologue of "The Thousand and One Nights." Of whatever opinion, however, one may be on this question, the work of E. Cosquin ought to be read.

We owe to L. Bauer a manual for the study of Palestine Arabic (dialect of the citizen and the Fellah).† This is a very interesting work on the common Arabic of Jerusalem, which concerns the citizens, and in several parts of Palestine the countrymen. It is the dialects of the peasantry that offer the greater interest; they have retained a number of archaical forms, and have the charm of Palestine soil. The work is divided into three parts: First, the grammar (consonants, vowels, verb, noun, syntax), where the author carefully brings out the peculiarities of the language of the Fellahs. Second, practical exercises (Arabic and German translation). Finally, an interesting christomathy (Arabic and German), comprising texts in the dialect of the citizens, texts in the dialect of the Fellahs, and texts in the dialect of the Beduins (these three series of texts are in prose). Then there are songs of Jerusalem, Hebron,

* "Le Prologue Cadre des Mille et une nuits, les légendes perses, et le livre d'Esther." Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1909 (Extrait de la *Revue biblique internationale*, publiée par l'École pratique d'Études bibliques des dominicains de Jérusalem).

† "Das Palästinische Arabisch, Die Dialekte des Städters und des Fellachen, Grammatik, Übungen und Chrestomathie," 2^{te} vollständig umgearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910.

etc., riddles, forms of salutation, dialogues, etc. The volume has been printed in Jerusalem (Druck des Syr. Waisenhauses), in good print, but a little small. It is to be regretted that all the Arabic text is transliterated.

In the "Publications de l'École des Lettres d'Alger" appears a remarkable essay on the dialect of Ghat,* by Nehlil, officer in the service of indigenous affairs in Algeria. The oasis of Ghat (or R'at) is in the western part of the Sahara; they speak there a Berber dialect which is called *tamadgek*, and which belongs to the group of dialects of the Tuaregs. The work of Nehlil is divided into three parts: A study on grammar (phonetics and morphology); a choice of texts in Tuareg characters, transliterated and translated into French and a French-Berber vocabulary. The grammatical part is very clearly defined, and enables one to understand the dialect. The texts are well chosen, and several amongst them enable us to enter into the life of the people of Ghat (birth, circumcision, local politics, history, saints, etc.). Finally, the vocabulary, which acquaints us with the composition of the language. The author deserves praise; his work does honour to the École d'Alger.

Nehlil has also published in the *Revue Africaine*† an interesting article on the "Zawia de Zeggel et ses ramifications." This Zawia is in Eastern Morocco, with the Beni-Snassen, neighbours of Algeria. It is a striking example of a group of Shorfa (plural of Sherif), tending to form a religious brotherhood.‡

* "Étude sur le dialecte de Ghat." Paris: E. Leroux, 1909.

† No. 275 (1909). Tirage à part. Alger: A. Jourdan, 1910.

‡ See our publications on the saints, and especially on the religious brotherhoods of Islam. E. Montet: "Le culte des saints musulmans dans l'Afrique du Nord et plus spécialement au Maroc (Genève: Georg, 1909), et "Les Confréries religieuses de l'Islam marocain (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902).

AN INDIA MUSEUM AS A MEMORIAL OF HIS LATE MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.*

BY C. E. D. BLACK.

THE question of an Indian Museum in London, with collections properly arranged and classified so as to instruct and inform, is by no means new. In 1798 the Court of Directors of the East India Company passed a resolution to devote a portion of their house in Leadenhall Street to the establishment of a Museum, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Wilkins thereupon submitted a plan for its organization. In connection with the Museum a Library was also founded, this being the prototype of the admirable institution at present in existence. This was to include Oriental manuscripts, coins, medals, etc., and such publications on Asiatic subjects as should be deemed useful for reference, including all works and maps published under the auspices of the Company. In 1800 Mr. Wilkins was appointed librarian, and charged with the foundation of the Museum, which began slowly to take shape. The formation of the Natural History Collection began under Dr. Horsfield, Sir Charles Wilkins' successor, but the commercial representation in the Museum of the productions of India date mainly from the Great Exhibition of 1851, and under the efforts of Dr. Forbes Royle and Dr. Forbes Watson good progress was made towards encouraging a systematic use of the Museum as an instrument for the promotion of commercial relations between England and India.

On the break-up of the East India Company, both the Museum and Library were, in 1860, removed from Leadenhall Street and temporarily accommodated—the former in Fife House, and the latter in the offices of the late Board of Control in Cannon Row. In 1867 both were transferred to the present India Office, and the Library as is

* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

well known, now stands foremost among all Oriental collections. In 1879 there was a complete break-up and dispersion of the collections in the Museum. The geological and mineralogical products were sent to the museum in Jermyn Street, the vegetable products were sent to Kew, the antiquities, or the greater part of them, went to the British Museum, and the art products to South Kensington. At the same time the Secretary of State for India, very wisely, if one may venture to say so, defined the object of the India Office to be "assignment of the Museum as a whole to be kept together." How this was to be reconciled with the dispersion of the different constituent parts of the collection I cannot quite see, but it may fairly be assumed that this object still exists, and how to attain it is a matter for immediate consideration, for last year the process of dispersion was to be carried still further, and the collections were threatened to be amalgamated with what have been called the "main" collections at South Kensington, and which have no distinctive country of origin. The deputation that waited on the President of the Board of Education and the speeches of Lord Curzon and others will be fresh in the minds of all; and here for the moment the question stands. A perusal of all that has been said and written about an Indian Museum abundantly proves that the main difficulty is that of a suitable site. But before we proceed to consider this important point it seems necessary to say something more about the present necessity of a Museum.

I take it no one will be disposed to deny that some such institution is required in London, as typifying India in its widest sense. London is the seat of supreme Government; here are to be found converging to its administrative centre the ties that unite us to our great Dominions in the East; and here one would expect to find some central cynosure, if I may use the expression, which would serve to remind all that London is in a special sense the heart of our Eastern Empire.

There was much point in a remark by Mr. J. D.

Rees, M.P., when the deputation in favour of the preservation of the Indian Museum waited on Mr. Runciman, that what City men wanted was to be able to point to some suitable building, and say: "Here, within four walls, we find the representation of India." A very true and very reasonable plea, but such a structure in London is conspicuous by its absence. Although India covers, in point of superficial area, only one-sixth of the British Empire, her population, be it remembered, is roughly quite three-quarters of the aggregate. The India Museum, if adequately equipped, ought to cover more ground than the British Museum, but, instead of anything like this having been attempted, we appear for a long time to have been steadily drifting backward, and its very existence as a separate and distinctive entity is now apparently in question. So far as the India Office itself is concerned, there is nothing Oriental about it; it is only the S.W. quarter of the classico-Italian block of Government buildings erected by Sir G. Gilbert Scott and Sir M. Digby Wyatt, and it wants a careful examination of the interior decoration to enable a visitor to appreciate its connection with the East. No wonder the very subject of India is unfamiliar, if not actually distasteful, to the British public, when so little trouble is taken to typify in the Metropolis, by the erection of a noble and appropriate edifice, the extent and grandeur of our Eastern Empire.

Suppose the East India Company had endured for fifty years longer than it did, can we doubt for one moment what the old directors would have done to make their dominion and their resources fully known and understood by the British public? Planted in the City, the heart of London, where advertisement, that marvellous but (most unfortunately for the public) still untaxed product of the day, is the very breath of commercial existence, the Company would assuredly have imbibed the atmosphere of its surroundings, and laid itself out to advertise its possessions and their capabilities for all they were worth.

This is precisely, as it seems to me, what those interested

in India have hitherto failed to do. And yet you have only to walk from Charing Cross to Temple Bar to see that our Colonies, small as they are in point of population, are realizing the duties imposed upon them in a far more prescient, enlightened and practical spirit. Canada, Queensland, Victoria, and Ontario, have one and all opened emporia—we will not call them shops—to display to the best advantage their national resources, and arrest the attention of the passer-by, whether labouring man or capitalist. These are only modest beginnings, but they are steps in the right direction, and worthy of imitation.

An Indian Museum, in the widest and classical sense, ought to exhibit in the interior and exterior of the shell the unrivalled structural and decorative arts of India, while its exhibits would include the resources and manufactures of all those varieties of climate that are found between the eternal glaciers of the Muztagh on the north and the exuberant shores of Travancore on the south, and from the burning sands of Baluchistan on the west to the humid valleys of Assam on the east. As to its records, curiosities and mementoes, pictorial, literary, artistic, ethnological and historical, it is difficult, and perhaps unnecessary, to particularize these here, especially as Lord Curzon has given so admirable a notion of what might be done in this direction in his sketch of the contents of the Victoria Hall in Calcutta.

It may be urged, "Oh! but that would constitute an exhibition rather than a Government Museum." "Well," I would reply, "that is in great measure what we lack—an intelligently organized and glorified exhibition, where all that is worth seeing and knowing about India is brought forward and exhibited in the best light for public edification." And be it noted, the collections and cases must be subjected to frequent overhauling, for it will not do for what is representative at one time to be accepted as adequate a few years, or even months, later. Such minerals as gold, coal, petroleum, and manganese ore play a far

more important part nowadays than they did twenty years ago in the economic exploitation of the country. The sea-fisheries of the Indian Ocean are a new and unworked industry, that, at present, would make but a meagre show, but which, a few years hence, under Government encouragement, would display results of far greater importance as bearing extensively on the means of livelihood, the food and industries of the inhabitants of the Peninsula. Speaking generally, the progress of India as a manufacturing country is one of gradual evolution that is attaining gigantic proportions day by day. It would be impossible to specify details of these here, because the industries are far too numerous; even the groups into which the products are broadly divisible (*e.g.*, those connected with oils, dyes and tans, fibres, drugs, timbers, minerals, tea, and so on) form a round dozen at least.

But this evolutionary process must be carefully followed and exhibited, in order that the channels into which capital out there is being attracted may be seen and understood, and that the teachings and possibilities may be vividly brought home to capitalists in England.

But how about the best site of such an important building? In his speech on behalf of the deputation to Mr. Runciman, Lord Curzon suggested that a suitable site for the Indian Museum might be acquired by purchase. I would point out that a far better and, indeed, a practically unique site, actually belonging to the India Office, already exists on the Surrey bank of the Thames, and next door to the newly uprising hall of the London County Council. Here stands the India Store Depot, a plain, bulky, rectangular, brick building, on ground the property of the Secretary of State for India. That edifice cannot be said to possess any value or attraction from an æsthetic point of view, and when the County Council Hall is completed the plainness of its neighbour will be still more obtrusive. Indeed, I would go further, and assert that no one would contend, so far as its business purposes and the transport

of goods are concerned, that it would not be far more conveniently and appropriately moved to the vicinity of the City and the docks, in fact, to the Port of London, and thus save all lighterage expenses.

Instead of relegating the Indian Museum to the custody of the Minister of English Education, and purchasing a special site for it, I submit that the collection, augmented and perfected, might far more appropriately be retained in the possession of the Secretary of State for India, and a grand, appropriate, and in every way suitable structure be erected on this fine riparian site.

In 1875 the erection of such a Museum on a plot of ground then belonging to the India Office and immediately south of it, was considered by the Secretary of State in Council, and, as I remember from the discussions in committee, the proposal, though it never materialized, found much support among the councillors. Had it been carried out, not only the site, but practically the whole cost of the museum, would have been debited to the India Office. It can hardly be considered unreasonable now that a larger and more beneficent undertaking is projected, for the site, structure, and an annual subsidy to be contributed by official revenues, leaving the equipment and collections to be provided through the contributions of the many thousands of persons interested in India.

On what has been described to me by an architect friend as "the finest site in the world" the ideal India House would stand. Next door to the nascent County Council Hall, and within bowshot of the terrace of the House of Commons, it would serve to members as a grandly imaginative and picturesque reminder of their Eastern responsibilities, while to the general public who cross Westminster Bridge or proceed along the Embankment it would arrest attention, admiration and curiosity, and thus quicken a spirit of inquiry, and insensibly lead the man-in-the-street to interest and inform himself regarding the noblest appanage of the British Crown.

The uses of such an Institute would be manifold, and probably the most exhaustive description of its various functions will be found in Dr. Forbes Watson's elaborate and thoughtful monograph, printed by Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode in 1874. This book has (after the official fashion) a very long title, but it is very suggestive: "On the Measures required for the Efficient Working of the India Museum and Library; with Suggestions for the Foundation, in Connexion with them, of an Indian Institute for Enquiry, Lecture, and Teaching. By J. Forbes Watson, M.A., M.D., etc., Reporter on the Products of India." Part of the ground—but a very small part—has since been covered by the Imperial Institute at South Kensington, but it is hardly necessary to say that this does not touch or trespass on the functions of a purely and entirely Indian structure, with its varied collections and resources in a central position, not too far from the India Office.

India has, of course, its due place in any general organization designed to illustrate and typify the extent and characteristics of a world-wide Empire. But when you descend from generalities to details, especially for the sake of minute examination and practical study, and of noting the progress in one or more branches of knowledge, specialized and detailed collections become necessary, and you must needs forsake the wider, more attenuated, and less satisfying for the closer, particular, and more thorough.

Besides, I think people will attach great importance to the *esprit de corps* argument. India should obviously have a Museum or Palace of its own. You cannot fairly expect concentration and progress without collective effort, and those efforts will be best attracted by an organization devised in the special and sole interests of the people of India.

From an educational point of view, such a storehouse of knowledge, constructed on a dignified scale, and exhaustively equipped, would appeal to the young with great directness and success. There would be no better way of getting young people to vivify their book-knowledge of

Indian history and the unlimited resources of the country, and quicken their interest in Eastern matters, than for their friends to take them for an afternoon tour through the galleries of the Museum. It would assuredly be favoured by schools, who would find in such an institution a picturesque and valuable medium of instruction, while India herself would benefit through the next generation, being much more thoroughly grounded in a knowledge of the country. At present the textbooks in most schools, high and low, are conspicuously weak in the treatment of Eastern topics.

The Director of the Imperial Institute tells me that its educational advantages are very fully appreciated, 125,000 persons, a large proportion of which were pupils and students, having visited its galleries in 1909.

Probably, however, the best auxiliary of such an organization would be a really ably conducted and exhaustive weekly journal devoted to Eastern topics in the widest and most liberal sense. There is great want of such a journal in this country. The Indian press—*The Pioneer*, *Times of India*, *Englishman*, *Civil and Military Gazette*, *Madras Times*, etc.—is practically unknown and unread in England; and, I must in justice add, rather jealously regarded by some of our home newspapers. The *Homeward Mail* plays a modest but useful part in publishing week by week extracts from the above journals. But this is not enough. What is wanted is an intelligent review as well as a record of Indian news from every Province, with explanatory and critical comment, focussed to the English standpoint of observation, and thus adapted to English comprehension. Special information should be culled from the countries that adjoin Hindustan, and which are intimately bound up with India's destinies—*viz.*, Ceylon, Siam, Western China, Tibet, Afghanistan, and the quasi-independent tribes—whether on the North-East or North-West Frontier, Baluchistan, Persia and Arabia, the Red Sea, and even Egypt and Somaliland. Depend upon it, the improvement of com-

munications and increase of trade will soon bring all these countries more and more within the area of what may be called Greater India; in fact, the process is even now going on under the eyes of those who are keen and willing to observe.

I may, of course, be told that there are here and there a few weekly, monthly, or quarterly publications which make a speciality of Indian topics. There is, however, nothing approaching to a really first-class journal such as the greatness of the subject and its special literature demand. Moreover, one needs a publication which will be regarded, if not with unvarying favour, at all events with no unfriendly eye by the India Office and the local Governments out in India. The Board of Trade has its organ, the Board of Agriculture likewise; the Colonial Office has a journal of its own, now in its third year. How comes it, then, that the India Office—with all the advantages of a concentrated, in lieu of a scattered, field of subjects and an official and non-official literature of unrivalled extent, variety, and interest—has made no real effort to exhibit its treasures to the British electorate? Papers on Indian subjects of importance are frequently read before the Society of Arts, the East India Association, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Central Asian Society, and so on; but it is rather the exception for any members of the big office in Charles Street to put in an appearance at these meetings. So far as my experience and observation extend, the officials that do occasionally attend from one year's end to another are probably less than a dozen, all told. The majority of the lecturers and the audience are provided by officials from India on furlough, or retired from the Service. It is true that Secretaries of State, Governors-General, and Governors past and present now and then are to be found at such meetings; they are naturally welcomed with enthusiasm, but their example seems to find but little favour among many home officials who could contribute very useful papers or help in other ways.

Considering the number of highly educated and ac-

complished gentlemen scattered throughout the different departments of the India Office, it is a little surprising that the general public do not learn more of the views that these must have formed in the course of many years' concentrated observation and experience of questions affecting the well-being of hundreds of millions of British subjects in India.

It was not always so, for some truly great intellects of the past forty years have served in the India Office, and assuredly the racial soil must be as prolific now as ever. J. S. Mill, Sir Henry Maine, Sir John Kaye, Dr. Forbes Watson, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Henry Yule, Sir Clements Markham, Sir George Birdwood—these are a few of those who have been at greatest pains to describe in eloquent language how England has discharged her stewardship in the East. But the spirit has since then died out somehow, in the course of the last twenty years, and much of the excellent work *caret vate sacro*.

I believe much good might be achieved by a closer union between the Oriental Societies and the India Office. The proposed Museum would supply a link in providing housing and meeting room for the societies, and also in bringing the free and unfettered discussion of current Indian topics more closely under official observation. In this connection a useful help would be supplied by the proposed weekly journal, which should be in close touch both with the new Museum and the India Office. The literary stores of the latter are far larger than most people suppose. There is not only the library, which contains all Indian and quasi-Indian books, published at home, as well as native works and manuscripts, but there are the so-called "records" comprising many hundreds of official reports, published annually or periodically at the chief Government centres of India. Many of these consist of mere lists of the official personnel, dull departmental tables, or numerical statistics destitute of all explanatory matter. For, in spite of Lord Curzon's well-meant efforts, the liberal printing of official rubbish—there is really no other word for it—still

goes on in every province of India. I cannot say if any more recent effort has ever been made to improve and regulate the character and volume of the official reports, but I doubt it.

But there is an important minority of reports—commercial, economic, railway, forest, agricultural, exploratory, settlement, legislative, financial, scientific, and the like—which call for careful review, and which ought to be made publicly known. It is a pity that so little has been done to bring these stores of invaluable information under the notice of the reading public. Crude lists of the titles of these reports are printed month by month, but the bare titles tell one next to nothing. What is wanted, of course, is an intelligent but brief analysis or digest of the reports, such as any experienced reviewer could easily draw up, the length of the notice being proportioned to the importance and value of the book itself. Now and then one comes across a specific report of great interest to capitalists and the public, some hundreds of pages in length, whose importance is not revealed by the title. I have suggested more than once to the India Office that an analytical or descriptive catalogue of these Government reports should take the place of the bare monthly lists, but in Sir A. Godley's time this small concession to inquiring students was always refused.

It must not be forgotten, however, that there are a few Blue-books, annually produced by the India Office, which play a useful, though not very striking, part in the diffusion of information—viz., The Moral and Material Progress of India Report, the Sanitary Blue-book, and the Statistical Abstract. The first and most important of them owed its genesis to the late Sir. M. Grant-Duff, who, on the transfer of India to the Crown, rightly foresaw that Parliament and the public would need all the information they could get regarding the development and progress of so huge and important a dominion. But in the course of half a century this report has become somewhat antiquated.

Covering the whole huge and ever-growing area of the administration, it is almost too comprehensive; and being at best but a digest of digests, all the bright personal touches have been washed out, and the result is a colourless and never-ending tissue of mild official optimism, punctuated by millions of statistical figures. Again, the individual inquirer is usually interested in one or two special subjects, and not in the whole vast field of Government work. Although it would be a pity for the report to be abolished, the great development of official literature in *every branch of government* during the last fifty years makes it more than ever desirable that prompt notice of the detailed reports, as already explained, should not be withheld. The proposed weekly journal would supply exactly the proper medium for short reviews of such publications, and thus enlarge this sphere of knowledge, besides enabling those interested to refer to and purchase the original sources of information. The Government would, of course, be in no way responsible for the use made of the reports, just as they are in no way responsible for what appears in the *Times*; but that would not, and should not, prevent their freely and gladly placing information at the disposal of the editor for the sake of instructing public opinion. Much, of course, would depend on the attitude of the departmental heads in the office; if they loyally and cheerfully accepted the conductors of the journal as friends and coadjutors in a great imperial task, the success of the new journal would be assured.

As for the financial aspect of such an undertaking, there can be no doubt whatever that, in the hands of a good agency, the advertisements would more than cover the outlay, and probably yield a fair profit in addition. Anyone really conversant with advertising business and journalism will bear me out in this.

From another point of view the Museum would prove eminently suitable, and that is in the quasi-social aspect. In the time of the old East India Company I have been

told that it was the custom for none of their servants, high or low, to be despatched off to India without a shake of the official hand. In the case of the high functionaries this send-off would take the form of a grand official dinner at the Albion, where Toole, the father of the celebrated actor, was toast-master, or at the London Tavern, where John Company had his own special wine-cellar. But in all their methods the old directors displayed a paternal touch, which leads one insensibly to regret the disappearance of much that has been swept away, and to wonder whether the present rather unsympathetic and high-and-dry officialism is best suited to the circumstances and aims of our Imperial administration in India.

The Indian services together form a corporate entity—a reunion of workers in one homogeneous field—possessing enormous opportunity and power. Here, I have thought for years, lies a chance ready to hand for the enlightened statesman. Year after year Authority sends into its great Eastern vineyard part of the chosen flower of Britain's youthful manhood, to delve, to plant, to water, to prune, and to tend all that can be won from that marvellous and prolific soil.

But these labourers are still packed off with as little ceremony as if they were Chinese coolies for the Transvaal. They have probably never set eyes on the Secretary of State. And yet what could be more appropriate, before they quit these shores, than for the King's Minister to take the regular opportunity of making himself acquainted with his youthful subordinates, to address to them, collectively, a few words of advice and encouragement, coupled with an expression of earnest hope that they may be successful in gaining the confidence and affection of those they may be called on to rule, and with a private intimation of his interest, good-will, and best wishes for their welfare in the long and noble task that awaits them in those distant lands?

Most of us could call to mind the names of some of those

in the past, or even in the present—a Frere, a Ripon,* a Dufferin, a Curzon, or a Morley—to whom might fitly fall such a chance of impressing high thoughts, earnest counsel and warnings, and a noble conception of duty on the plastic mind of cultured youth. The opportunity would seem to be one made for an imaginative statesman, who, taking his stand in the central hall of the new museum, and surrounded by the noblest and most inspiring records of the past, would, with picturesque imagery and eloquent insistence, fire the resolves and inspirations of his hearers. Most—one might almost say all—of those on their way to the East to take up civil and military duties are the sons, brothers, nephews, or relatives of others who in the past have done good work in the same field; to them a grasp of the hand and a few well-chosen words from the Indian Minister might mean much towards moulding character and inspiring them to even greater work. In any case, it would give an imprint of personality and reality that would help to form the bond of *esprit de corps* round the noblest service of the Crown.

I cannot, of course, in connection with this point omit reference to Lord Morley's interesting visit paid last year to the Indian probationers at Oxford, and the weighty and instructive address on Indian policy then delivered. It was indeed a most welcome departure for the Secretary of State to take, and Lord Curzon, the Chancellor of the University, undoubtedly voiced public sentiment when he expressed a hope such a visit might become an annual function. What I have been trying to sketch out, however, is in no sense designed to interfere with such an admirable idea, but rather to hope that a farewell address from the Secretary of State to all those who have finished their

* As an attempt has been made to throw doubt on the late Lord Ripon's views of such a suggestion, I may mention that I had a most interesting conversation with him in the spring of 1909 at his house on the Chelsea Embankment, and he told me he considered my suggestion an admirable one.

probationary course, Oxonians as well as others, might also become an annual institution, within the precincts of the proposed Museum.

Lastly, it might be noted that the new Museum would be admirably adapted for receptions, durbars, and *levées*. It is not so long ago that the Commander-in-Chief here used to hold his periodical *levées*, and I cannot but believe that in the case of the Secretary of State similar functions would be considered equally appropriate, affording the Minister for India and his Councillors periodical opportunities for interviews with native princes and magnates and leaders of native movement and thought, and for keeping himself in touch with the never-ceasing stream of officers home on furlough and retired. In fact, when once such an institution, with its ramifying agencies for good work and influence, were started, it is difficult to set a limit to its widespread and beneficent possibilities, if but the true object, the better union of India with England, were ever loyally borne in mind.

We have already been supplied, through the kindness of Mr. Chisholm, formerly Government Architect at Madras, who has followed up the idea with great enthusiasm, with a perspective design, to which I would invite your attention, for the proposed Museum, which would be erected on the site of the present *depôt*, and this design seems to me to be a very satisfactory, practical and charming indication of what could be done.

Such a building would, in the opinion of many Indian authorities whom I have consulted, form a most appropriate Indian Memorial to our late King. The influences for good which would be promoted by such a Museum, in its classical and noblest sense, would be numerous and extensive. The India Office would be expected to help by contributing at least the site and an annual subsidy, as in the case of other analogous undertakings.

With regard to the question of aid from the Imperial British, as distinguished from the Indian, Government,

I think that a very strong case might be made out. In 1875, when the question of erecting a small museum on the then vacant ground in Charles Street was under consideration, the Secretary of State for India in Council sanctioned a sum of £75,000 for the purpose, with the hope that financial assistance would be forthcoming from the British Treasury. But I cannot find out that any reasons for this contribution were submitted for the consideration of the Treasury, and thus it is hardly surprising to find that my Lords politely declined to contribute anything. Apparently they did not quite see why they should do so. The India Office appear to have been taken so much by surprise at this response that they dropped the whole project.

If we were to appeal for a contribution in aid now from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I think you and I can guess exactly what his reply would be. He would probably say, "Who is to benefit by this project? Why, India, of course; therefore India ought to pay." That is quite true in a measure, but only up to a certain point. India would undoubtedly benefit, and India ought clearly to pay—something. But can it be conscientiously asserted that England would *not* benefit, and that England ought to pay nothing? Surely everything tending to bring the two countries in closer harmony with one another; everything tending to make the people of India better understood and appreciated over here; everything helping to make their circumstances and true wants known; everything, in short, likely to benefit India itself and make it more prosperous and contented, cannot but conduce to the advantage of the masters of India. I feel tempted sometimes to remind these severe Treasury economists, who in the past have been so ready to exact the uttermost, and more than the uttermost, farthing from India in order to enrich the British exchequer, that nobody in this world quite realizes the value of any possession until he has lost it, and that if, through repeated acts of niggardly, if not unjust, treatment in past financial matters the sympathies of India

were to be seriously alienated and their aspirations diverted in other directions, the result would very soon be perceptible in the price of Consols and Exchequer bills and such-like financial barometers, of which the youngest Treasury clerk would be quick to appreciate the seriousness and grave import.

I submit that such a Museum or Palace of Industries would be worthy of the encouragement of the British Treasury, wherever it were started, within the limits of the Empire. It ought to meet with ten times as much practical sympathy from the same source, when the proposal is to found it in the capital of the United Kingdom, in the heart of the Empire, within touch of all our Government Offices and our Houses of Parliament, and almost in sight of the Palace of our King.

Summarizing the financial position, I venture to suggest to you the India Office might contribute the site and an annual subsidy; the Treasury might fitly and fairly contribute the cost of the structure, bearing in mind that the large part of the cost of this would pass into the pockets of British contractors and British working men. I am sure Mr. John Burns and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who have had so much trouble to find work for the unemployed, would appreciate this point—leaving the equipment, collections and internal arrangements and a small fund for maintenance to be defrayed by the subscriptions of the very large public interested in the idea, both in India and England.

The whole undertaking, I further suggest, should be vested in the hands of a small body of trustees, the majority to be appointed by the Viceroy of India, in consultation with such responsible authorities and leaders of Indian opinion as he might determine.

The present moment is peculiarly auspicious for making a move, when we bear in mind what Mr. Runciman, the responsible Minister of the Crown, said last year that "India should be represented under one roof as far as

possible, that the various scattered collections should be brought together, so that for the first time in the history of museums in this country the Indian collection should be got together as a whole," and that he for his part would do all in his power to further this. Here is surely a direct invitation which cannot and ought not to be neglected.

If a nucleus of a few subscriptions could be collected at once under a small representative Committee, measures could be taken to circulate the project among all interested in this country and in India, taking as a guidance Queen Victoria's and King Edward's well-known solicitude for all their Indian subjects, and our present King's words, as printed in the papers on Empire Day: "I count upon your ready response to the earnest sympathy with the well-being of India, that must ever be the inspiration of my rule." The result would, I feel sure, be one of the most important and fruitful measures hitherto devised for the welfare of our Indian fellow subjects.

OLD TURKISH MILITARY COSTUMES AND STANDARDS.

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

"HIKMAT min al Farang, Daulat min al Hind, wa Hashmat min al 'Othmânia," says the Arabic proverb: "Wisdom from Europe, wealth from India, but magnificence from the Osmanlis." The "sumptuous Ottoman," as Disraeli called him, of the olden time delighted in stately parade and martial finery; and the wealth that he won from plundered Christendom he squandered on splendid horse-trappings, and on the adornment of his arms and military equipments. War was the pleasure as well as the business of his life, and the arts of peace were contemptuously relegated to his Christian serfs and subjects. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the armed nation of the Osmanlis was the greatest military Power in the world. But by the conquest of Constantinople and the establishment of their Sultan on the Imperial throne of the Cæsars the Turks were transformed from a nomad horde into a settled nation, and gradually lost their martial character, while remaining still indifferent to the pursuits of peace. Sloth and luxury took the place of arms and valour, and the splendid heritage of an efficient military organization was suffered to fall into decay, until it was brought by neglect and ignorance to such a pass that it could only be mended by utterly ending it.

The late revolution in the form of government in Turkey has revived the hopes of the Osmanli nation, and recalled the memories of its past glories. The régime of the Young Turks has already resulted in visible proofs of the increased efficiency of the naval and military services of the Empire; and the new activity of the War Office is being exercised in reviving the traditions of the past, as well as improving the conditions of the present. The first volume

of a history of the military forces of the Ottoman Empire has just been published at Constantinople by the Turkish War Office from the pen of the Minister of War himself, Mahmud Shavkat Pasha, described on the title-page as Ferik (General of Division) and Inspector-General of the First, Second, and Third Ordus (Army Corps). This work is entitled "*Tashkîlât va Qîâfat-i Askaria 'Othmânî*" —i.e., "Organization and Uniforms of the Ottoman Army" —and treats of the old Turkish military system which endured, with very little alteration, for 500 years, from the commencement of the fourteenth century to the year 1826. The Turks are not given to literary pursuits, any more than they are to civil or mercantile avocations; and they have hitherto taken no pains to commemorate the achievements of their ancestors. "The very names of Janissaries, Sipahis, Delis, and Gunalis," says Consul Palgrave, "are now almost forgotten," and many of the ancient military institutions of the Ottoman Empire have been rescued from oblivion only by being preserved in the works of European historians and travellers. The reforming Sultan Madmûd II., in his eagerness to efface from the minds of the people the memory of Janissary glories and services in the past, used all his power and authority to destroy every trace and symbol of the existence of the old standing army of Qapu Qûli (slaves of the Porte); just as the Bourbon Sovereigns of France, after the second Restoration in 1815, did their level best to obliterate the memory of the formations and distinctions of the Imperial Army and its glorious achievements under the Napoleonic eagles. When the late Mushir Ahmad Javâd Pasha undertook to write the history of the Janissaries, he could trace no record of the badges which distinguished the different companies in Turkey, and only found them in the book entitled "*Stato Militare del Imperio Ottomano*," written by the Italian Count Marsigli, who was a prisoner in the Turkish camp during the siege of Vienna in 1683. Ahmad Javâd Pasha had designed to write a comprehensive

military history of the Ottoman Empire from the earliest times, and the first volume of the work, treating only of the Corps of Janissaries, was published at Constantinople, and translated into French. It contained all the details of the formation, organization, and interior economy of the Corps, and the scheme of the work contemplated its continuation in twenty-one other volumes, embracing the history of the wars, as well as the description of the military system of the Empire, and including an account of the naval forces and maritime wars of the Turks. But the employment of the author as Grand Vazir and in other important posts, and his lamented and premature death, unfortunately prevented the completion of the work. What had been already accomplished has been largely drawn upon by the compiler of the present volume, and many of the figures depicted here are taken from the pictures of Janissaries shown in the album of plates attached to Ahmad Javád Pasha's history of the Corps.

The book now compiled by Mahmud Shavkat Pasha is profusely illustrated in colours, showing some sixty officers and soldiers in their peculiar and variegated costumes, and representations of the badges and military insignia of the Janissaries, standards and banners used in the army, and different kinds of head-dresses worn by the soldiery, of which only a dozen are here given out of an infinite variety; for the principal manner of distinguishing ranks, grades, and occupations among all classes and professions of the Turks in the olden time was by the shape and fashion of the head-dress. The cavalry soldiers sometimes wore the steel helmet of the universal Oriental pattern, surmounted by a spike, and furnished with a hood of chain-mail, of which many examples may be seen in our Indian museums. But the Turks were not fond of wearing defensive armour, finding its encumbrance a disadvantage outweighing the advantage of its protection. "The Turk's horsemen are all naked men," says Knolles in his history, meaning unarmoured. The head-dress here shown as that of the paid

or regular cavalry is a high cylindrical cap, with a turban twisted round the base, one end of which hangs down behind, like the Shamla of our Indian cavalry.

The horsemen called Delis (madcaps), whom Byron calls "the forlorn hope of the Turkish cavalry," wore abnormally high caps called Tarturas; and the Arabs of Cairo, who never let slip an occasion of poking fun at the stupid Turk, had a proverb to the effect that "It needs but a slight push to make a Tartura fall." Lofty head-dresses were a conspicuous feature of Turkish costume; the Grenadier cap of European armies was copied from a Janissary head-dress, and the Ottoman men-of-war were constructed with more than the ordinary space between the decks to allow room for the high head-gear of the officers and marines.

This variety and extravagance in the matter of the national fashion of head-covering was abolished by Sultan Mahmud the Reformer, and an absolutely opposite custom established; the simple red fez which had been the head-dress of the Algerine Corsair, and had been adopted by Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt as the military cap of his New Model Army, being introduced as the universal head-gear for monarch and slave, officer and soldier, Pasha and peasant. In his blind hatred for all the customs and traditions of the past, the reforming Sultan rushed into the opposite extreme.

The parade head-dress of the Janissary privates was a mitre-shaped cap of white felt, with a strip or curtain of the same material hanging down behind over the shoulders; it was ornamented with a brass plume-case in front and a band of gold lace round the base.

The curtain at the back was said to have been added to the cap in memory of the sleeve of Haji Bektash, the saint who blessed the corps at the invitation of the Sultan on its first institution, and in the act of blessing it, stretched out his arm over the heads of the front rank. Hence the strip of felt was called "Haji Bektash's sleeve." Its real origin and object was probably to protect the back of the head

and neck of the wearer from the sun, or from a sabre-stroke, like the chain-mail hood on the "maghfir-kulah"; and the hanging top of other Turkish military head-dresses, reproduced in our own busby-bags and in the French "flamme de colback," had probably a similar purpose, which has been forgotten in its perpetuation as a mere meaningless ornament.

To account for the gold band round the lower edge of the cap there was another legend. The story went that at the sack of the town of Apollonia, in Asia Minor, a Janissary made prize of a gold bowl which he hoped to carry off unobserved; he therefore clapped it on his head, and covered it with his cap. But the cap proved too small, and the golden rim of the bowl showed beneath it; and Sultan Murad spied it under the man's cap and made him uncover. What became of the bowl the story does not relate; but the Sultan was so pleased by the appearance of the man, that he ordered that in future all the caps of his Janissaries should be bordered with gold; and the regimental cap, which had hitherto been known as *Uskuf* from the Italian *Scuffia* for "cap," was thenceforth called *Zar-kulah* (gold cap).

In later times this cap was only worn by the men on occasions of parade or duty in their garrisons; off duty and in the field they wore a twisted white linen turban like that of the French *Zouaves*. The picture of the Janissary carrying the bag with the pay of his company in this volume shows a white band hiding the gold band of his cap, probably a device to preserve the latter for more ceremonial occasions.

The *Karakullukjis*, or corporals of the Janissaries, are always represented as wearing lofty cylindrical turbans; the company and field officers wear high, flat-topped caps, with a turban round the base. The different ranks of general officers wear large caps of various fantastic shapes, adorned with gold lace and fan-shaped plumes of red and white feathers, the white above and the red below, as in our service. Their long fur-trimmed robes are of various

colours—scarlet, blue, and green. The pictures in the album of costumes published with Ahmad Javád Pasha's book are not coloured, and there would appear to be some doubt as to the correctness of the colouring in the present reproductions.

We know that there was some degree of uniformity in the old costumes of the Turkish Army from remarks scattered up and down through the pages of many writers. Evliya Effendi says that the Ajam Oghlans, or Janissary recruits, received as their first issue of clothing a red pointed cap, and a red jacket with a cleft in the shoulder, probably a welt, like the modern "wing" in our army; shoulder-pieces of various kinds are seen ornamenting the coats of Janissaries in the plates in this volume, for the fashion of the garments, as well as that of the cap, indicated the owner's rank and position in the corps.

We know that each Janissary received annually as clothing a piece of the "blue cloth of Salonika," a piece of linen for a shirt, and a pair of red leather shoes. The white felt cap was also provided by the State. The blue cloth was made into a pair of wide trousers, or Shalwar, and the long-skirted coats were provided by the men themselves, or out of the funds of the company. We see the Karakullukjis, or corporals, represented as wearing short jackets on duty; and perhaps this was the original dress of the Janissaries, and the long-skirted coats were a later introduction. The colour of these coats seems to have been by no means uniform. We know that the officers often wore scarlet: the Persian historian, Mirza Mahdi Khán, in his work entitled "*Jahán-Kushá-i Ná'diri*" (Conquests of Nadir Shah), compares the appearance of the Janissary in the field of war to that of the rose in the flower-garden; and the late Earl of Albemarle, when, as Major Keppel, he described his journeyings in the East, said that the Yangichari A'ghási (Brigadier-General of the Janissaries) at Bagdad reminded him of an English Judge on the Bench, in his long scarlet robe trimmed with ermine.

In the present volume the private Janissaries are also depicted wearing scarlet coats; but it is improbable that this was the ordinary colour. In the Khedivial Library at Cairo there are some albums containing sketches of old Turkish costumes and Constantinople scenes, painted by a German artist named Wolff, apparently about the commencement of the nineteenth century. The sketches have considerable merit, and were evidently painted from the life. They represent the private Janissaries as uniformly dressed in their peculiar white caps, green coats, blue trousers, and red kamarbands and shoes. The Karakullukjis, or corporals, are in several pictures represented as uniformly dressed in high cylindrical white turbans, blue Zouave jackets, and blue Shalwar. In the present volume, however, though the fashion of the Karakullukjis' dress is exactly similar, the colours are different: the jackets are red and the turbans yellow.

One of Wolff's pictures shows the Janissary Agha evidently in his robes of state, white trimmed with black fur, and with a ministerial turban on his head (he had a seat in the Imperial Divan, or Council of Ministers): he is attended by orderlies clad in red from head to foot, with red cloth Kalpaks with hanging tops, the dress of the Sultan's Bostanjis. Another picture shows him dressed in green and wearing a smaller turban, riding through the streets of the capital, preceded and followed by his Chaushes, or lictors. Another picture shows the Istanbul Ághási, who combined the office of Captain-General of the Companies of Ajam-Oghláns, or Janissary recruits, with that of Commissioner of Police, going his rounds in Constantinople, and dispensing summary justice (?). One wretched culprit has just been nailed by his ear to the trunk of a tree; another is undergoing the bastinado at the hands of the Janissaries, whose long coats are kilted by drawing the corner of the skirt through their girdles. Another picture shows the weekly distribution of candles at the Janissary barracks: yet another a company of

Janissaries at gymnastic drill. The men stand in ranks in a barrack-yard, dressed in white skull-caps and jerseys and blue knee-breeches, and appear to be going through some extension motions; on the flank of each rank stands an instructor, in full Janissary war-paint, and a group of officers are looking on.

One picture shows military punishments. A Janissary is being marched to prison bareheaded, and with his arms pinned, by two soldiers of the guard. In another place a corporal is beating a Janissary with his belt. The existence of these pictures in the Khedivial Library is probably unknown to the authorities at Constantinople, as it was to those at Cairo. The present German Curator of the library rescued them from a mass of rubbish and waste paper to which they had been consigned by his ignorant and careless native predecessors. It might be worth the while of the Turkish War Office to have these pictures copied and preserved as authentic representations of the appearance and dress of their soldiery a hundred years ago.

The Harbaji, or javelinman of the Janissaries, shown in Mahmud Shavkat Pasha's book, carries a pike, and wears a leopard-skin over his shoulders. His function was to supply a bodyguard to the Grand Vazir on occasions of State ceremony. The important office of cook of the Janissaries is here represented by the Ashji-oustá, or cook-instructor, of the 32nd Orta, or company; but there were three companies of Janissaries with that number, and we are here left in doubt whether our chief cook belonged to the 32nd Buluklis, 32nd Yáyas, or 32nd Sagbáns. His leather gown has high wings on the shoulders, and is so studded with brass ornaments that its skirts have to be carried by a corporal at each side of the wearer to enable him to support the weight of his dignity.

The arrangement of these pictures is susceptible of some improvement, the figures being placed without reference to either rank or corps, general officers standing next to private soldiers, and cavalry, infantry, and artillery being

indiscriminately mixed. The title of the Solak, whose figure is reproduced from Ahmad Javád Pasha's book, is probably a misnomer. The Solaks were men picked from the Janissaries, and formed four companies of archer guards for the personal escort of the Sultan. They were called Solaks, or sinistrals, because those who marched on the right side of the Sultan's horse drew their bows with the left hand. European travellers write of the tall, fan-shaped, white plumes which they wore in their caps, almost concealing the Sultan from the view of the spectators as he rode between their files on his way to the mosque on Friday. But the Solak pictured here is armed with a double-headed pole-axe instead of a bow and arrows, and has a single straight upright feather in his high cap instead of a fan-shaped plume. The original picture probably represents a Baltaji, or halberdier, one of a company of Palace guards so called. The French inscription explaining the figure calls it "Soldat du Corps de Garde du Sultan"—an evident mistake for "Garde du Corps."

The Sultans had several companies of guards, both of horse and foot, in their military household, which, when the Sovereign ceased to take the field and to command his armies in person, lost their military character and became mere Palace guards, appanages of Imperial State functions and Court ceremonies, like the companies of Gentlemen-at-Arms and Yeomen of the Guard at the Court of St. James at the present day. But these companies *de luxe* are not mentioned nor represented in this Turkish War Office history. The Grand Vazir (Sadr A'zam in Turkish) finds a place in it, however, as Minister of War and Deputy Commander-in-Chief, for when the Ottoman Sultans ceased to lead the grand army in person, its command naturally devolved on the Grand Vazir, who was also *ex-officio* War Minister, for the organization of the Ottoman State had been originally purely military, and the civil administration was only a subordinate branch of the military system.

The Grand Vazir and his naval coadjutor, the Qapúdan

Pasha, who likewise combined in his own person the executive and administrative functions of Lord High Admiral and Minister of Marine, are both here represented in long fur-trimmed robes and tall, white, sugar-loaf-shaped turbans. The Qapúdán Pasha always wore a green robe, though the dress of his subordinates, as shown here, is not distinguished by any particular colour. The Levend, or Marine, wears a red, melon-shaped cap, and red jacket and shoes, with blue breeches. The Levend-i-Rúmi, or Christian Marine (the Levends were the only Turkish military corps into which Christians were admitted), wears a blue vest. The dress of the Levends and of the Qáliúnji (galleon-men—i.e., men-of-war's-men) shown here is very similar to that of the French Zouaves and Turcos, and was no doubt adopted because the long skirts generally worn by the Turks were found quite unsuitable for the sea-service. The famous Turkish Admiral Mezzomorto,* who after being Dey of Algiers became Qapúdán Pasha, scandalized his colleagues by appearing in the Imperial Divan, or Council of Ministers, in the short jacket and knickerbockers of the Marine service, and refusing to don the cumbersome and effeminate dress consecrated to his office by etiquette and custom. The Sagbán-Báshi, a general officer of the Janissaries, appears in this series of pictures in a brown leather jacket, with blue knickerbockers and bare legs, and his feet in yellow shoes. The officers generally wore yellow boots or shoes, while those of the men were of red leather. The leathern jacket, with brass studs and high shoulder-pieces or wings, worn by the Sagbán-Báshi, as here represented, is repeated in the garb of the Sakka, or water-carrier, the prototype of our Indian Bihishti. These Sakkas formed a separate corps, from

* The epithet of Mezzomorto, by which this famous Admiral is best known to Europeans, is variously accounted for. Some say it was owing to his cadaverous complexion; others that it was due to his having once been desperately wounded and left for dead in a sea-fight with the Christians.

which they were detached to serve with the troops as the exigencies of the service required. Though the chief strength of the old Ottoman Army lay in its cavalry, out of the sixty or seventy figures here represented, only two are horsemen, a Deli, in green, and a Timárli (territorial holder of a military fief), in a red jacket. Both of these troopers carry muskets slung over their shoulders, while the Janissaries have no firearms. The Janissary in review order carries a long white staff in one hand, and his sheathed sabre in the other. The reason for this is that the muskets of the Janissaries were kept in armouries under charge of the Jebejis (ordnance storemen), and were only issued to the troops for practice or for active service. The Khumbaraji (bombardier) wears a yellow Zouave uniform, trimmed with black braid, which looks smarter and more soldier-like than most of the costumes here represented; and the Laghamji (miner) in his shirt-sleeves, with blue knickerbockers and bare legs, looks thoroughly practical and workman-like. Some of the officials represented seem to have little of the military character about them—for instance, the Daftar Amíni, or Keeper of the Records, and the Tátár Ághási, or Chief Courier. The four musicians who constituted a Turkish military band are here represented; the instruments are a bass drum, a trombone, a clarionet, and a pair of cymbals; each of these being doubled formed the "eightfold Turkish music" of the Tabalkhana, or band, which remained in attendance on the Grand Vazir, or in his absence on the Saraskier (General), who commanded the army. The musicians are dressed in the usual flowing and cumbrous robes of red or blue, with a coloured kalpak and white turban twisted round its base for head-dress.

The Turkish titles of the various types represented here are transliterated into French, a language which in some cases lends itself very awkwardly to the rendering of words written in the Arabic character. Thus the word Cháush (Sergeant) is transliterated Tchaouche, requiring three letters more in the French than in the English equivalent,

which latter also approximates more closely to the Turkish spelling. Tchorbadji for Chorbaji, and Djebedji for Jebeji, are further examples. German is worse than French; a German printer uses four letters as the equivalent of one letter in Turkish, while the English only uses one, as in the words Jamá'at and Dobruja, which in German become Dschema'at and Dobrudscha respectively.

Four pages of the book are filled with coloured prints of the distinguishing badges of the companies of Janissaries, the sixty-one companies of Buluklis, and the hundred and one companies of Yáyas, giving about forty badges to each page. These badges were found by Ahmad Javád Pasha in the book of the Italian Marsigli, and were copied from thence, there being no record of them to be found in Turkey. But Marsigli did not give the badges of the thirty-four companies of Janissary Sagbáns, and these have never been recovered, and never will be. These badges were embroidered on the flags and the tents of the companies, painted upon the barracks and the furniture, and tattooed on the arms of the men. When the corps was dissolved and its members proscribed by Sultan Mahmúd II., many of the soldiers used a violent chemical preparation to remove these tell-tale marks from their arms, which caused blood-poisoning and cost them their lives. These Nisháns, or marks, are very varied in character—figures of animals or birds, weapons, tents, standards, palm and cypress trees, mosques and castles, galleys and anchors, and other things. The first Jamá'at, or company, of Yáyas has a camel for its badge, for it was originally raised from the baggage-guards of the Sultan, and went by the name of Dawajis or Shuturbáns (camel-drivers). Other companies had titles connected with their badges also, as the 68th Jamá'at, which had a crane for its badge, and the men of which were called the Turnajis, or crane-men. A crossbow was the badge of the 82nd Jamá'at, called the Zumburukjis (Arblastesters). The badges of the 29th Jamá'at and the 45th Buluk are omitted, though the reason of their omission does not

appear, as they are given in Ahmad Javád Pasha's book. The 45th Buluk was singular in having a motto, "'Ala Allah Tawakkul"—"Our Trust is in God." The badge of the 65th Jamá'at, a castle, is given here, though that company was broken up in the seventeenth century for having been concerned in the murder of Sultan Othman II., and it was never re-formed. The number sixty-five was left vacant, and a solemn curse was pronounced upon it at every weekly distribution of candles to the barracks of the Janissaries. The connection between candles and curses thus seems to have existed in Islam as well as in Christendom.

The last page in the volume is devoted to illustrations of the standards and banners used in the old Ottoman Empire. The place of honour is accorded to the Togh or horsetail standard, the pole of which was surmounted by a gilt crescent. The Sultan's standard had seven tails, those of the Vazirs and Beglerbegs three, those of the Sanják Beys one. The tails were originally those of the Yak or Tibetan ox, which were also used by the Moguls in India as emblems of authority under the name of "Chauris"; but as the Turks moved westward they substituted horsetails for the Yak-tails, which were no longer procurable. The tails are here depicted dyed red, but those now preserved as trophies in military museums in Germany and in the Arsenal at Venice are of the natural black colour.

The favourite colour for banners and standards among the Osmanlis was red or green, or a mixture of the two colours. The Sanjáki Sharíf, or Sacred Standard of the Prophet, is not figured here; it is, or was, green, with texts from the Koran embroidered in gold upon it, but is now faded and decayed with age. The Livá, or banner of a Pasha, was an oblong flag with a red field and a green and gold border. The Toprakli, or territorial cavalry, had for their flags a guidon, half green, half red, with the device of four golden crescents, and the peculiar double-bladed sword which is supposed to represent the famous sword of Ali, called Zulfiqár: half-way up from the hilt, the blade divides into

two points, curving outwards in opposite directions—a perfectly impossible weapon. This heraldic sword of Islam figures among the badges of the companies of Janissaries; it was also emblazoned on their Bairak, or banner, which was a flag tapering to a point, half red and half green, with a yellow edging. The flags of the Topjis (gunners) and Khumbarajis (bombardiers) are of similar shape, red bordered with yellow, bearing the device of a gun and a mortar respectively. The regiment of paid cavalry known as the Silâhdars or Sipahis of the Yellow Standard had a yellow guidon with two silver crescents in the field; the Sipâhis of the Red Standard had its counterpart of a red colour.

A square standard with green and white stripes is given here as that of the Bulukiat-i-Arbia (Four Troops), the four regiments of the paid or regular cavalry, which were the earliest and most senior formations of the Kapu Qûli, or Standing Army. But this was the standard of only one of their regiments; those of the other three are not given. It was to these regiments that the guard and escort of the sacred standard was committed when it accompanied the army on a campaign, which was only when the Sultan or the Grand Vazir took the field in person. It is strange that no example of the dress of these Sipahis should be included in these pictures of Ottoman military costume; that they wore a particular dress appears from allusions in the Turkish writers. Thus Evliya Effendi writes of Gulâbi Âghâ meeting in the crowd at the Mosque of St. Sophia "a tall, handsome man in the dress of a Sipahi." In an oil-painting by Van Wyck representing Prince Eugene at the Siege of Belgrade engaged in personal encounter with an officer of Sipahis, the Sipahis wear white turbans, and red robes with yellow braiding on the breast like a modern Hussar.* The Gunalis were in fact Turkish Hussars, wearing the Hungarian dress of Kalpak, with hanging bag

* This picture was reproduced in the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* for January, 1908.

and braided pelisse, or dolman, the latter probably a Turkish word, like Colback, used by the French and Germans as the equivalent of "busby." The cap itself, and straight upright aigrette, was probably of Turkish origin. European warriors wore only drooping or waving plumes, and Knolles mentions the surprise which struck European envoys to the Pasha of Buda at the sight of the stiff and straight plumes worn by the troops in garrison there.

The standard of the Qapúdán Pasha Ali, captured at the Battle of Lepanto, is preserved as a trophy in the arsenal of the museum at Venice. Owing to its having been kept under a glass case, it is in a very good state of preservation. Charles Dickens alludes to it as "a fierce standard taken from the Turks, drooping in the dull air of its cage"; but it has been better cared for by its captors than it would have been by its rightful owners, who until quite recently were altogether careless of the preservation of military relics or trophies. The Grand Standard of the Holy Roman Empire, captured by Torghud Pasha of Tripoli in his victory over the Christian armament at Jerba, was recovered by a German Ambassador at the Porte bribing the Turk to whose charge it had been entrusted. Ali Pasha's standard, lost along with his life on that fatal day when "all Christendom was convinced of the grievous error they had so long laboured under in believing the Turk invincible by sea," is a large triangular red pennon, embroidered with texts from the Koran, and with crescents, stars, and the Zulfiqár sword in gold.

The practice of distinguishing divisions of troops of the same army by the different colours of their standards appears to have been a favourite one among the Mongolian nations. The present dynasty in China relied upon their "Banner Army" of Manchus in eight divisions, and had a second-line army of eight divisions more, distinguished by "Bordered Banners," repeating the colours of the Manchu divisions with borders of a contrasting colour, while their

native Chinese troops were massed together in a Green Banner Army.

It is related that one of Amir Timur's Marshals commanding an Ordu (Corps d'Armée of 100,000 men) decreed that each of the ten Tománs, or division of his Ordu, should use a distinguishing colour for their standards, caps and turbans, kamarbands, and horse-furniture, and that Timur, when he passed the troops in review, was highly pleased with the effect.

Thus it was in the East and among Oriental nations that the first essays in the uniform dressing and equipping of troops were made. The Janissaries had established their fame and prestige a hundred years before the first companies of regular troops were enrolled in Europe. But as in other branches of art and science, the Western pupil soon outstripped his Eastern master, and left him far behind. The methods and conventions of Europe have now imposed themselves upon the Asiatic peoples, and the Imperial Ottoman Army has long since been shorn of all its picturesque insignia and barbaric splendours. The Turkish Army is now the most plainly dressed of any in the civilized world, and the khaki-clad Osmanli soldier of to-day has none of the glitter and glamour of the Mameluke or the Janissary, with his tall turban, flowing red robe, and silver-hilted yataghan. In the prophetic words of Byron :

"His robe of pride was flung aside,
His brow no high-crowned turban bore ;"

but the old spirit still survives, and the old warlike instincts of his once conquering race still smoulders beneath the dull exterior covering of the Turkish soldiery. As Frederick the Great said of his war-worn grenadiers : "They look like worms, but they can bite like adders."

HIGH LATITUDES *v.* HIGH ALTITUDES.

BY COLONEL A. C. YATE.

AMONG the most distinguished of those who have been welcomed to London by the Royal Geographical Society, and, under the auspices of that society, lectured to thousands, nay, tens of thousands of British citizens, are the Duke of the Abruzzi, Sir Sven Hedin, Dr. M. A. Stein, Commander Peary, and Sir Ernest Shackleton. The lands in which these five men, whose names are already written large in the history of their times, did the work by which they won fame, are alike "abodes of snow," but with this distinction, that Peary and Shackleton sought the poles of the globe, and Sven Hedin and Stein the lofty heights and plateau, while the Duke of the Abruzzi sought both. The camera and the cinematograph have vastly increased the power of the Royal Geographical Society to invest its meetings and lectures with interest and attraction. The day was when a weak-voiced lecturer in the Burlington House amphitheatre caused the audience to leave the meeting little if any wiser than when it entered. But now, even if the voice be inaudible, the pictures on the screen are visible to all, except the unhappy few who are told off to the orchestra seats of the Albert Hall. When the Duke of the Abruzzi at the Queen's Hall, and Sir Ernest Shackleton at the Albert Hall, addressed their audiences, those who occupied seats far distant from the platform were fain to be content—strain their ears as they might—with the pictures; but so excellent, numerous, and engaging were the pictures, that no one spent a dull instant.

Writing at this moment, when the Sovereignty of the British Empire has so recently passed from King Edward VII. to King George V., it is impossible not to recall the presence of both monarchs at the Duke of the Abruzzi's lecture, and of King George at that of Lieutenant Shackleton. And, comparing the Shackleton with the Peary

meeting, one point of resemblance struck me forcibly. When Lieutenant Shackleton and Captain Bartlett rose to return thanks for the medals presented to them by the Royal Geographical Society, each found himself unable to command language which would adequately express his feelings, and broke into a passionate admission that oratorically they were unequal to the occasion. Both brought the house down. Genuine feeling is never lost on a great and enthusiastic assemblage. The clearly worded and clearly enunciated sentences of Commander Peary never evoked the burst of sympathetic warmth that greeted Bartlett's helpless confession: "I'm no speaker—I wish I were!"

There could be no question of the ability both of Commander Peary and of Sir Sven Hedin as speakers, especially when the latter replied to the apologia of Viscount Morley; for in truth, in some measure, it was an apologia. Did not the India Office refuse to let Sven Hedin cross the Indian border into Tibet? And did not Sven Hedin take his own line, and carry out those discoveries and adventures in Tibet which appeared very recently under the title of "*Trans-Himalaya*"?^{*} When I heard Sven Hedin, in replying to Lord Morley, remind him that the one thing that gave him the most joy, when he crossed the frontier from Kashmir into Chinese Turkestan, was the knowledge that the Secretary of State for India would let no one else follow him, I could not but feel that he had at least secured one point to the good. When the India Office was immovable, to telegraph to the Swedish Minister in London for a Chinese passport for Eastern Turkestan was a stroke of genius; and now that these two noble volumes, with their thrilling records of adventure and admirable illustrations, have been given to the world as the first-fruits of that stroke of genius, we may all well felicitate Sir Sven Hedin on having achieved very great things in face of great difficulties. I take up my *Daily Telegraph*, which is at the moment

* "*Trans-Himalaya*," by Sven Hedin, 2 vols., 8vo. Macmillan, 1909.

throwing itself heart and soul into the arduous task of providing Sir R. Baden-Powell with funds for his "Boy Scouts," and find that Sven Hedin is now applying to the creation of a Swedish corps of Boy Scouts that same determination which carried him triumphantly through his Tibetan travels. I know not if Sweden turns the same deaf ear to the question of National Defence that England does ; but when we see the Government of the day starving—regardless of public protests from the County Associations of Somerset, Dorset, Monmouth, and other counties—the few Territorial troops that it has, mainly by unofficial aid, succeeded in raising, we can only be thankful that we have a patriotic Press and patriotic citizens who work unwearyingly in the cause for which a harassed party Government has neither leisure, nor money, nor, indeed, will. It is well for Governments that they have the daring adventurer as pioneer. I would that one or two would do a little pioneering in the sphere of national military training and service.

The attainment of the unknown is ever fraught with danger, and therein lies its fascination. Be it the victory of aviation over the forces of gravity and the powers of the elements, or be it the stern struggle to reach the Poles or climb the summits of the Alps, Andes, or Himalayas, there is a subtle demon in man that will not let him rest until his end be achieved. It is this spirit that has now given man the mastery over the two Poles and the mightiest mountains, and the wings for which Icarus strove in vain.

Within the last century man has discovered, developed, and put into practical use scientific and mechanical powers in comparison with which the handcraft that raised up the Tower of Babel is puerile. The "confusion of tongues" has had its day. Were it to assert itself, Esperanto or Volapük would step in.

When the man who has visited neither the Arctic nor Antarctic regions, nor the plateaus of Tibet, nor peaks

of Ruwenzori, thinks over the practical advantages that result from the exploration of these regions, he is, I think, fain to admit that the best result is the example which a few have set to the multitude. The sand-buried cities of the steppes of Central Asia and the marvellous manuscripts which Dr. Stein has unearthed and brought to Europe are remarkable records of a past civilization. But the knowledge thus gained is unlikely to bear any practical fruit. The vast progress of geographical research within the last century has left no great space on the globe's surface unexplored. Is it because the earth has given up most of its secrets that the restless spirit of man is now seeking to subdue the air? Whatever the cause be, the fact remains that, now that man has reached the uttermost ends of the earth, he seems to be within a measurable distance of being able to make the air subserve his insatiable passion for exploration.

In comparing Polar with Tibetan travel, two points at once suggest themselves as those on which judgment must be based—viz. : Which involves the most risk, and which produces the most important results? The first, for one who has seen neither Polar Region nor Tibet, is difficult to answer. The dangers of Polar travel are primarily those resulting from climatic conditions. In Tibet man adds to the dangers of Nature. The murder of Dutreuil de Rhins in 1894, and of Dalglish in 1888, the maltreatment of which Mr. H. S. Landor complained, and the passive resistance which foiled Littledale and many others, are proof enough of the danger which awaits man from man in Tibet. Of other dangers Sven Hedin has given us ample instance. His vivid descriptions and pictures of a storm on Lake Lighten, and of an adventure with a wild yak, would impress the most stolid of readers. We can but congratulate Rahim Ali on his miraculous escape, and add the comment that the very vividness of the description adds to its obscurity. It is incomprehensible that Sven Hedin, being mounted, should have been in such imminent

danger that the stumble of a man on foot should have rescued him therefrom. Again, as regards results, to a traveller of very limited scientific culture such as I am, it certainly appears that, while Tibetan exploration has some bearing on the history of the future, Polar exploration is but the satiating of that thirst for solving the secrets of the unknown which inspires men to face any danger. I admit, however, that the scientific bearings of the question are beyond the scope of my knowledge and judgment. Curiously enough, Lhasa, the very Mecca of the twentieth-century explorer, was reached, not by an adventurous traveller, but by an expedition authorized and organized by the Government of India. What Tibetans had oft refused to the individual, ever since the days of Boyle and Manning, had to be granted to a force of all arms under Younghusband and Macdonald.

At the end of vol. i. of Sven Hedin's book are seven maps. They illustrate the progress of geographical knowledge of Tibet from D'Auville in 1733 to the latest map of our Royal Geographical Society in 1906. But that which has for me the most fascination in the twin volumes of Sven Hedin is the search for the sources of the Indus, Sutlej, and Brahmaputra (Sanpo). I was present in the theatre of Burlington House when Lord Curzon addressed the Royal Geographical Society on the source of the Oxus. I well remember his remarkable quotation from Elphinstone's "Kabul," and his comparison thereof with that which the latest geographical research had revealed.* It is from glaciers that all these four great rivers of sun-scorched Asia take their rise. Can we not imagine the intense interest with which the early Western explorers tracked the courses of the rivers of North and South America from mouth to source, or source to mouth? Of the intensity of that interest we find graphic pictures in the engrossing

* *Vide* Elphinstone's "Kabul" (4to. edition, 1815), pp. 646, 647 (Appendix D, by Lieutenant Macartney); and Curzon's "The Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus," pp. 38, 39.

pages of Francis Parkman. There is a fascination in tracing these great rivers of the East and the West to their sources that is not exceeded by the witchery which lures men on to nail the national flag to the Pole, be it North or South; and, say what sentimentalists may, the final end and aim of travel is wealth and aggrandizement, as the very name "El-dorado" testifies. Wealth is not to be found, I think, at the Poles, but where climatic conditions make it possible for man to live and prosper. We are on the eve of the departure of the *Terra Nova*, under the command of Captain R. F. Scott, C.V.O., R.N. We know that the prize which he hopes to bring back with him is not one that can be valued in £ s. d., but is none the less the earnest of the qualities which have raised the British Empire to the pitch of wealth and power which it has now attained. The British nation and the world have paid their tribute of praise to Sir Ernest Shackleton and Commander Peary; and I doubt not that every Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society is now looking forward to the day when the Albert Hall, filled to overflowing, will welcome and acclaim Captain R. F. Scott as the man who has run up the Union Jack mast-high on the South Pole.

THE PAPER-MILLS OF SAMARKAND.

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

DR. HOERNLE has discussed in an interesting paper in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal* for 1903 the origin of rag paper—that is, paper made from rags and cordage. The conclusion he comes to is that rag paper was invented at Samarkand, and probably about A.D. 751. His view is supported by the historical investigations of the Orientalist, Professor Karacabek, and it seems to be tolerably certain that the exclusive use of rags and cordage for the manufacture of paper was a Samarkand invention. It also seems to be established by the microscopic examinations made by the botanist, Professor Wiesner, that though paper was originally made from the bark of the paper-mulberry and the raw fibres of plants, cotton fibre was never used for that purpose. The Chinese used the mulberry and China grass—that is, the rhea fibre—and the people of Bokhara and Samarkand used hemp and flax. The latter are probably the *hashīsh* and *kalā* spoken of by Reshīd-d-dīn (?), as quoted by Quatremère at p. cxxxii of his "History of the Mongols. Compare also Ibn Khāldūn, who, in speaking of the paper made at Bagdad—to which place the manufacture was transferred from Samarkand—says, as quoted by Quatremère: "Le papier est formé de la plante du chanvre *nabāt alqannab*."

Dr. Hoernle says that flax does not now grow abundantly in *Khurāsān* (a general name for Persia and Central Asia), and that he doubts if it ever was plentiful there. But on this point we have the evidence of Clavijo, who says (Markham's translation, p. 171), Timur sowed hemp and flax. This shows that flax was cultivated in the Samarkand district about the year 1400. Clavijo adds that hemp and flax had never been seen there before. But this seems

very doubtful, for Ibn Haukal, a geographer who belongs to the tenth century, tells us (p. 251 of Ouseley's translation) that Bokhara and its territories produce fine linen. This seems to imply that flax was grown there. The same writer says (*ibid.*, p. 233), "Like the paper made at Samarkand, there is not any to be found elsewhere." Ibn Batuta, who visited Samarkand in the middle of the fourteenth century, and before Timur had developed Samarkand or attained to great power, tells us that the Samarkand river was called the river of the Fullers or Bleachers (*alqīṣārīn*), a designation which seems to indicate that linen was manufactured there, and that consequently flax was grown there.

Professor Karacebek thinks that Samarkand was not conquered by the Muḥammadans till A.D. 712, and that the manufacture of paper was not introduced there till some forty years later, when some Chinese prisoners were brought into the city and introduced the art of paper-making. But it seems to me that Samarkand became a Muḥammadan city long before 712. According to Reclus, vol. vi., p. 527, and the authority quoted by him, Samarkand was conquered by the Muḥammadans in A.D. 643. It was, perhaps, on this occasion that the Shāh Zindah, "the Living Saint," who is the guardian of the city, was martyred. He was Qaṣam, or Qotham, the son of 'Abbās, and grandson of 'Abdu-l-Mathālīb. Bābar calls him one of the "Companions," and another account says that he was Muḥammad's cousin. In neither case could he have been present in Samarkand in 712. But there is also evidence that the Arabs conquered Samarkand in the days of the "Ignorance." Perhaps we are too much in the habit of ascribing Arab conquests to post-Muḥammad times, and in connecting them with a religious propaganda. It appears that the kings of Yemen were powerful in Central Asia long before the days of Muḥammad. According to Tabarī, Samar or Samar, the nephew of Abu Qarib, one of the Tobba kings of Yemen, conquered Samarkand and gave it its present name. I do not know if the following passage occurs in

the original Arabic, but, at all events, it appears in the Persian translation, which was made in the latter half of the tenth century: "Dans le Dictionnaire des Villes, il est dit que Samarcande à cette époque [when Shamar took it] était appelée Chine et qu'elle était habitée par les Chinois qui y ont inventé le papier. Schamar donna à la ville son nom et l'appela Schamarkand" (Zotenburg's translation, II., 158). It should be noted here that there were two Shamars or Samars, and they were father and son. The father, who was called the "Winged," on account of the rapidity of his movement, gave his name to the city. The son, perhaps it was, who took the city again in 643. The fact that Samarkand, or some town near it, was called Maracanda in Alexander the Great's time should not make us reject the statement that Samarkand owes its present name to Samar, for the absence of the S in Maracanda makes an important difference between its name and Samarkand's. The Emperor Bābar's statements that Samarkand became Muḥammadan in the time of Othman, the third Caliph, is also some evidence that the city was held by the followers of Islam before 712, for Othman was murdered in 665. But it does not seem necessary to bring in the story of Chinese prisoners in order to account for the introduction of paper-making into Samarkand. As Tabarī tells us, Samarkand was Chinese before Shamar took it. There is no doubt, I believe, that the Chinese were powerful in Central Asia before the days of Islam. The facts that they claimed tribute for Samarkand from Timur; and that he admitted that he used to pay it, are evidence of this. The making of paper in Samarkand may then be as old, or almost as old, as the manufacture of it in China Proper. The Chinese would not find the paper-mulberry there, and perhaps China grass would not be there either; and so they may have been obliged to use flax, and also rags and cordage.

There is an interesting passage about Samarkand paper in Bābar's "Memoirs," which is thus translated by Mr.

Erskine, p. 52: "The best paper in the world comes from Samarkand. The species of paper called *jūās* comes entirely from Kānegil, which is situated on the banks of the Āb-i-Siāh, called also the Āb-i-Raḥmat." In the next paragraph, in speaking of the meadow of Kān-i-gil, he says: "The Āb-i-Raḥmat runs through the midst of it, and has volume enough to drive seven or eight mills." I do not know what is meant by *jūās* paper, and Professor Karabacek does not mention the word, but one meaning of *jūās* is a pestle or mortar, and it may also mean a mill. I think that the sentence about the mills means that the mills were actually there, and not merely that the stream was capable of driving them. I suggest that the paper manufactory was established at Kān-i-gil on account of the water-power, though the abundance of crops and grasses on the magnificent meadow may have had to do with this. Evidently the people of Samarkand were adepts at the use of water-power, for Ibn Batuta tells us that the city was covered with hydraulic machines which were used for watering the gardens. Bābar's statement shows that paper-making flourished at Samarkand down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. It seems to have now quite died out.

It will be seen that I follow Erskine in reading Kān-i-Gil—i.e., clay-pits—and not Kān-i-Gūl, mine of flowers. The latter is the more poetical name, and is adopted by Vambéry, Markham, and others. But that the word is "Gil" and not "Gūl" is shown by the fact that it is marked with the short vowel *i* (*kasra*), in two good MSS. of the Persian translation of the Bābarnāma in the British Museum, and also by part of a line of verse in Sharafu-d-dīn's life of Timur. Speaking of the glories of Timur's great assemblage at Samarkand, when he celebrated the marriages of six grandchildren, Sharafu-d-dīn says, "*Shuda Kān-i-Gil Kān-i-Gūl*—"The mine of clay became a mine of flowers."

Sir Clements Markham has done excellent service by

translating Clavigo's narrative. He has not, however, been always able to identify the names of persons and places. For instance, at p. 155 he follows Clavigo in writing of a former Emperor of Samarkand as Ahincan, and suggests that this may be Kāmal Khān. But the description of the former Emperor as one who ruled over Persia and Damascus, and who made many laws and ordinances, identifies him with the legendary hero Aghuz, or Oghuz Khān. For "daughter," as applied to Timur's chief wife, the word "descendant" should be substituted. At p. 130 the name Taliera given by Clavigo to one of the Samarkand gardens should perhaps be Tal Siāh, "Black-mount," after the analogy of Ab Siāh, which flowed near it; and Calbat should be Bābar's encampment of Kalba (Qalba).

ORIGIN OF "MONGOL" AND "KITAT."

BY E. H. PARKER.*

BOTH the old and the new T'ang histories give an account of a Tartar race called the Shih-wei, which they say was allied to the Kitans. From the details and definitions given, it is absolutely certain that they occupied a large part of what we now call Tsitsihar province and the Tsetsen Khanate. The most provoking thing about it is that their special haunt was the River Nao-yüeh, of which we know nothing, and probably never can know anything. Fortunately, however, one of the tribes is said to live on a river which rises in north-east Turk land, and has some connection with the Kü-lun Pêh, or the Kerulun marsh, after which it runs east through the Mung-uh tribe of the Shih-wei. Thus far the *Old T'ang Shu*.

The *New T'ang Shu* calls the Shih-wei "Tunguses," i.e., Tung-hu, or "Eastern Hu" (Tartars); and as the Kitans are also so called, who (as above shown) belonged to the same stock as the Shih-wei, we may definitely accept as established the preliminary fact that the Mung-uh tribe was Tungusic. The *New T'ang Shu* writes Mung-wa instead of Mung-uh. The Russians seem to have begun to use the word "Tungus" as soon as they passed the Yenisei on their way towards China, which, according to the "authentic information" (original authority not given, however) of Dr. Dudgeon, was in 1567; but the Dutch writer Massa seems to have first *printed* the word Tunguz in 1612. There is no evidence to show that the Russian Tungus is etymologically the same word as the Chinese Tung-hu, or "Eastern Tartars"; but, on the other hand,

* [The following paper was written by Mr. Parker in 1896, but, owing to the obscurity of its subject, it has never yet found a printer. As it bears upon the question of M. Blocher's *Djâmi' el-Tévarikh*, opportunity is now taken to publish it.]

there is no evidence to show that the common view, etymologically connecting words so closely allied in sound, is a wrong one. The *New Tang Shu* adds that the Shih-wei spoke a language similar to that of the Moh-hoh (who are known for certain to be part of the same race as the Nüchêns and Manchus). But it says also that they are descendants of the ancient Ting-ling, who, again, are elsewhere identified by Chinese authors with the Kirghiz. Turkish scholars have proved that the modern Kirghiz, though Turkified, are not genuine Turks by origin. The Ting-ling were subject to the Hiung-nu, and the Shih-wei were subject to the Turks (whose ancestors were the Hiung-nu). Neither the Ting-ling nor the Shih-wei tribes ever cohered sufficiently to form a political state of any importance. I believe the Ting-ling to be the later T'ieh-leh, or *Tölös*, of the Turkish inscriptions.

The *Pêh-Shi*, which treats of the Tartar dynasties of North China, also mentions the Shih-wei; but as these Tartar dynasties were all Tungusic or Turkish, the Shih-wei could have had no dealings with real native Chinese political powers previous to the T'ang dynasty; and even during the T'ang dynasty their relations had no political significance, and were simply a question of bringing sable furs for sale.

During the Kitan dynasty, which, so far as extramural China goes, succeeded the T'ang, and ruled all north of parallel 39 for 200 years, there were occasional tribute relations and skirmishes with the Shih-wei after the founder of the Kitan dynasty, Apaoki or Anpaken, had conquered them. Three of their tribes in the tenth century still bear the old names; but a new one, called "Black-cart," now appears, evidently strongly tinged with Ouigour influence. Indeed, the Shih-wei were evidently, in company with the few there remaining Ouigours, in possession of the old Ouigour land; for when, in 924, Apaoki wrote to the Ouigour Khan Bilga, "the Wise," who had then been long settled at Kan Chou (Marco Polo's Campichu), inviting him to resettle in the old Tula-Orkhon region, Bilga

declined to go. From 994 to 1027 the Shih-wei are not mentioned, and, in fact, they do not appear more than once again after that at all until the important occasion when, in 1124, they lent assistance to the last Kitan Emperor, who was flying before the Nüchêns. It is remarkable, however, that twice in 1084 the Mung-ku State sent to the Kitans certain envoys "with polite messages"—a term of quasi-independence only used in Kitan history twice, and only of one other tribe, the Tatan, of the Kerulon region, in 918 and 1005. Unhappily, there is nothing to show where this Mung-ku State was, but probably it was the old Shih-wei Mung-ku of the Kerulun, more or less mixed up with the Sha-t'o Turks, who were, according to Russian authorities, called in later days "White Tata," whilst the Mongols proper were (according to the same Russian investigators) called "Black Tata."

Nüchên power, though it reached much farther into China than ever did the Kitan power, did not extend anything like so far west. The Ouigours (who still remained south of the desert, settled in Marco Polo's Campichu, Sukchur, and in modern Kan Suh generally) sent half a dozen missions to the Nüchêns between 1127 and 1172, but after that last date they are not mentioned; nor is there the least allusion to Turkestan, Sungaria, Kashgaria, Tibet, the Turks, or the Tula-Orkhon region: the names Tatan, Tata, and Shih-wei utterly disappear. But, strange to say, amongst the tribes on the extreme north-west frontiers are enumerated the Mung-kuh—unfortunately without further explanation.

It is usually believed that Genghiz Khan gave the name Mung-ku (the present Chinese name for "Mongol") to his people, and the word is said to mean "silver," just as the Liao (Kitan) dynasty is said to mean "iron," and the Jin (Nüchên) dynasty to mean "gold," in each case the additional yarn being that "solid as metal are we" was their idea. But M. Chavannes has already knocked this conceit on the head, so far as the last two dynastic names

are concerned, and has shown that the modern Rivers Liao and Altchuk existed with these same names long before the petty tribes inhabiting their head-waters became, or thought of becoming, political powers.

In the same way, I suspect the various forms, Mungu and Mungut, which have an unbroken descent from A.D. 600 to A.D. 1200 (before Genghiz rose to power), must refer to some ancient stream or topographical peculiarity in the Onon region, near where Genghiz arose; and that the Shih-wei—which by the "Grimm law" of China must represent some such sound as Shirvi, Shilwe, or Shytwai—may have some etymological connection with the River Shilka of to-day.

The Tunguses, viewed ethnographically as a nation, are found by the Russians to be essentially an Amur people, and, of course, the Shilka, Onon, and Kerulon all belong to the Amur system, as also does the Sungari. The ancient Chinese only knew of two great desert powers—the Hiung-nu (later Turks) and the Tung-hu, with whom the Hiung-nu were always striving. But the Chinese, who used the words Tung-hu and Tung-i ("Eastern Tartars" and "Eastern Barbarians") very loosely, had certainly no etymological or ethnographical limitations in their mind, such as Europeans have when they speak of "Tungusic" and "Tonki." The Tung-hu best known to China were only called by the more definite names of Sien-pi and U-wan (from mountains or ranges of those names), after the Hiung-nu had broken them up, and the old name U-wan is still found a thousand years later as a Shih-wei tribe.

I therefore draw as a tentative and temporary conclusion from all this that the Sien-pi races, whose habits were more like those of the Turk or Hiung-nu than like those of the Manchu or Nüchên group, were linguistically more like the Manchu group than like the Hiung-nu. Turks and Tunguses alike (as I understand the views of professed philologists) are merely sub-groups of the one "Ugro-Altaic"

race, and it is only natural that the Sien-pi, wedged in between the other two, should, according to locality, in many respects be a cross in customs or in language between the other two. The Solons and Si-bê of to-day are officially declared to be, in the first place, not genuine Manchus, and, in the second case, a kind of Mongols; the former are considered by the Emperor K'ien-lung to be the descendants of the old Kitans, whilst the latter must, I think, be the Sih, or Sib, who, with the Hi, always lived near or among the Kitans, though they were both classified historically with Turks.

It is a significant fact that scarcely any ancient tribe fails to find its counterpart in sound in modern times, and *vice versa*; more, the tribe either remains in the same place, like the Manchus, or has a full record of its migrations, like the Ouigours. Hence it is not unreasonable to suppose that the old Mungu tribe of Shih-wei were (retrospectively) a reshuffle of the Mongols of to-day, or rather of 1200, who, when they became great, gave their own petty tribal name to the whole commonwealth, as did in turn the Turks, Ouigours, Kitans, and Nüchêns; or, to take Europe as an instance, as did the Franks, Batavians, and Angles.

When their southern neighbours, the Kitans, took possession of part of North China as Emperors, the Shih-wei would naturally call the only China they knew by the name "Kitan." When the Nüchêns broke up the Kitan Empire, and part of the Kitan royal family migrated west, where they were known to all the western peoples (who knew of them at all) as Kara-Kitans, there would still be in high Asia no other known name for "China" than Kitan; for the Nüchêns, as we have seen, had no knowledge of Turkestan, and were totally unknown even by name (so says the late Dr. Bretschneider) to the Russians of 600 years ago. Meanwhile the Mongols conquered the Nüchêns, and the Mongol word for "Chinamen" is still Kitat; so that when the Mongols got to Russia, and spoke

of Kitat, the Russians would borrow the only possible word available for them; and they still say "Kitai" and "Kitaiski" for "China" and "Chinese."

P.S. As a postscript to the above, I may mention that the Mungan tribe of Tunguses of Mr. Michie Fraser's paper (*China Branch, Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. xxvi.) may possibly be the old Mungu again. Many of the Tungusic customs therein mentioned, such as "burying" on trees, serving several years for a wife, etc., correspond exactly to the customs of the Shih-wei, as related of them 1,000 years ago. The Orochon (meaning "reindeer possessors") are officially grouped by the Manchus with the Solons; and, indeed, one of the Solon branches was styled in 1646 and 1650 the Deer-using Tribe or Deer-using Country. [When I inspected various Lapp tribes of Norway and Sweden in 1905, I was much struck with their Mongol appearance.—Addendum.] The Manchus also group the Daours with the Solons. Neither of these names appears before A.D. 1600, but amongst the Solon words identified by K'ien-lung, and published in the Nüchên History, are the Shoh-lu-yin (the last character printed *very small* to show that it is final *n*) and the Tah-hu-li (the last character used as a final liquid) respectively, meaning, in Solon, "mountain-peaks" and "cultivator." These two words Sholun and Dahur are manifestly the "mountain hunters" and the "farmers" of the same Tungusic race. The rebellious Kitans were broken up in 1163, and distributed over the *mingans* and *meuks* of the Nüchêns; fourteen years later a large number of un-rebellious Kitans were moved to the Ukuli and Shilei territory—possibly the old Shiwei or Shilka again—which seems to have been in the extreme north-west—*i.e.*, the Onon region. This fact may account for the Solons of A.D. 1640 being considered representatives of the Kitans, for the Kitans between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1100 certainly never lived where the Solons lived in 1600, or anywhere

else, except in the Shira Muren and Ta-ling valleys—the modern Jêho Superintendency, north-east of Peking. The Kitans were prompt to submit to Genghiz Khan in 1213, and we find quite a large number of them serving the Mongols in military capacities down to the death of Kublai; but that monarch deprived them of the right to hold *darugachi* office, and clipped their wings by impounding all their horses. Their chief centre in those days seems to have been westwards from modern T'ieh-ling, but large numbers took refuge in Corea. After assisting in quelling Nayan's revolt (mentioned by Marco Polo), the Kitans are no longer mentioned, and doubtless they were gradually absorbed into the Mongol element, and now form part of the forty-nine banners of "Inner-Mongols." The Ming History never so much as once mentions the word Kitan, and throughout the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) the house seems to have been unable to interfere in either Mongol or Manchu affairs, at least beyond what was necessary to protect its own frontiers. The Manchus enrolled the Solons under special banners in 1640, and utilized their services as soldiers extensively. One hundred and fifty years ago the greater part of the Solons and Sibê were moved to Ili, where their descendants still remain, doing military service. The Manchus have never once used the word Kitan, except in reference to sacrifices at the first Kitan Emperor's tomb.

CHINESE NOTATIONS OF COMETS.

BY E. H. PARKER.

ACCORDING to the English newspapers, Halley's comet appeared (in the three first cases by retrospective calculation?) in 1142, 1531, 1607, 1682, 1759, and 1835. The Chinese record that in the 4th moon of 1145 a comet "came from the east quarter," and in the 12th moon of 1146—*i.e.*, February, 1147—"reappeared in the south-west quarter." In the 8th moon of 1532 the Court officials indulged in heart-searching on account of a "sidereal manifestation" (possibly Halley's comet). In 1591 a comet appeared, and the Emperor commanded more heart-searching. Thus it will be seen that our retrospective calculations are not very closely confirmed by Chinese experiences.

In the 10th moon of 1680 (corresponding to December, 1680, or January, 1681), a comet was "visible in the 27th Zodiacal constellation (Crater)," and during the first day of the following month (January, 1681) it was "discerned in the south-west quarter." In 1759, however, when Halley's prophecy got its true bearings, the Chinese are fully equal to the occasion, for they record that on the *Kiah-wu*, or fourteenth day of the 3rd moon (which began on March 28, and ended on April 26), "a comet was visible." We observed it in Europe on Christmas Day, but the Chinese seem to have seen it as early as April 10. There does not appear to be any record of a comet in 1835; but if the wise men of the earth will name the exact dates to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* when either it or any of the earlier Halley's comets *ought* to have been visible at Peking, it will probably be found possible to "locate" them exactly.

In 1378 Halley's comet was observed in Europe, but the ex-priest then engaged in consolidating the Ming Dynasty at Nanking had little time to trouble himself about comets.

In 1368, however, the Mongols, who were just then being ejected by him from China (Peking), recorded a comet towards the Pleiades in the 1st moon, and in the north-west quarter during the 2nd moon. Halley's comet is also said to have appeared in Europe in 1456. Here, again, the Chinese seem to have no record, but in the 8th moon of 1457 it was frequently seen, "and His Majesty prayed in person to God (the Emperor above)."

Considering how few comets (comparatively) the Chinese record at all—at least in their historical or political chapters—these instances are fairly significant. If the exact dates were supplied at which in *any* part of China Halley's comet *ought* to have been observed, it would be a simple matter to consult the astronomical chapters of standard history, and also the local annals of provincial capitals.

In the year A.D. 60 the Chinese mention a remarkable comet which was visible for 135 days, and probably was Halley's. It was first seen in the sixth month, coming from the north of Perseus, about 2 feet in length, when it travelled north to the south of Virgo.

The newspapers have also been making more or less accurate allusions to the appearances of Halley's comet in China between the years 240 B.C. and 12 B.C. The original records are as follows: "In the seventh year (240 B.C.) a comet appeared coming at first from the west; then it appeared in the north; in the 5th moon it was visible in the west. . . ." "The comet once more appeared coming from the west; at the end of 16 days the Dowager died." "In the first month of the year 162 B.C. (*not* 163 B.C.) a comet appeared in the evening, coming from the south-west; it was held to presage dreadful wars with the Huns." [There is a long but rather uncertain description of its phases, covering a period of three months in all.] In the year 87 B.C., seventh month, there was a comet in the last quarter. In the first month of the year 12 B.C. there was an eclipse of the sun, followed in the afternoon of one day of the fourth month by a cloudless, lurid, thundery

canopy of light, enclosing the earth on four sides down to the horizon: there were meteors with heads as big as pitchers, and over 100 feet long, of a bright fleshy-white colour. From below the sun they travelled south-east in a bright shower of all shapes and sizes, just like rain, only stopping at dusk. [Evidently the earth was passing through the tail.] As to the appearance in the third month of A.D. 1066, it is recorded that "a comet appeared about the Pleiades, like Venus, 15 feet in length." This is by the Chinese Dynasty reigning in Ho Nan. The Cathayan Tartars reigning at Peking record the same comet, but *one day earlier* in the third month: "A comet appeared in the west quarter."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, May 2, 1910, Sir Lesley Charles Probyn, K.C.V.O., in the chair, Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph read a paper entitled "The Unearthing of Hoarded Wealth in India, and, in connection therewith, the Financing of Feeder Railways and Canals."

The following, amongst others, were present: Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir James Digges la Touche, K.C.S.I., Sir Steyning William Edgerley, K.C.V.O., C.I.E., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel F. W. Wright, I.M.S. (retired), Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. R. Nundi, Mr. H. S. Das, Mr. N. K. Nag, Mr. E. P. Ghose, Mr. B. Singha, Professor N. N. Bose, Mr. Alfred Chatterton, the Misses Vredenberg, Mrs. Welch, Mr. W. Coldstream, Professor and Mrs. J. Hrubant, Mrs. Dodd, Miss Beck, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Grose, Mr. James Sevestre, Colonel Wartaker, Mr. R. Brenar, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. R. N. Aiyangar, Mr. N. D. Chozra, Mrs. White, Mr. F. Marchant, Mr. L. J. Zurig, and Mr. J. B. Pennington, Acting Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure we are all very much obliged to Mr. Biddulph for his very interesting paper. I am not going to enter into any detailed criticism of it; I will only say that it appears to me a little bit doubtful, even by giving 1 per cent. more than the rate at which the Government can borrow money—say $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. instead of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—whether that would have the effect of drawing out these hoards, which, no doubt, are needlessly and uselessly kept buried in some parts of India. There is another point beyond that as to whether it would be effective—namely, whether there would not be all sorts of inconveniences cropping up by having one set of securities guaranteed by the Government at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while the remaining securities in which the Government is involved yield only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. That is a question which I venture to raise, but it does not interfere in the least bit with the interest attaching to the proposal made by Mr. Biddulph, with full knowledge, and a proposal which, as he says, has actually been tried, though a railway has not been constructed; but promises have been given to subscribe money for these purposes, which, I understand, really comes from the hoards.

MR. BIDDULPH: I may say it is a good deal due to the obstruction of the Railway Board that the line was not commenced and finished some time ago.

The CHAIRMAN: Railway Boards are sometimes obstructive in the interests of their own shareholders, I believe, but generally they are only too glad to welcome feeders. I hope that some gentlemen here will give us the benefit of their views on this subject.

MR. DONALD REID said that he was not a believer in the hoarded

wealth of India, but stated that there are some rich Maharajahs and a few rich Rajahs who have hoarded their money, and mentioned as an example the late Maharajah of Hatwa. When he died he left 40 lacs of rupees in hard cash in his treasury ; but those gentlemen were few and far between ; and as for obtaining money in India for the development of canals, he had found that the Maharajah of Hatwa, with his 40 lacs of rupees, would not put a penny into the canal which was under Mr. Reid's management. With the object of developing those canals Mr. Reid came to London in the year 1892, and went to his cousin, who is a man interested in railways in the City, and put the scheme before him. He wished to construct two large distributary canals, and wanted the money for that purpose. He was informed that this was a small amount, and he could be introduced to General Hopkinson, who had been Commissioner of Assam, but after showing General Hopkinson the plans for these distributary channels, and going into the matter, and stating that he lived in the most densely populated part of Bengal—the district of Saran—and that the ryots of that district had sent him home with the object of obtaining money for building these distributary channels, General Hopkinson said that it was not the sort of scheme anybody in the city would take up, and he could not let him have the money. A few years afterwards General Hopkinson died, and by his will left over £100,000 made out of tea, and made out of India, and yet for the development of a canal in the most densely populated part of India he would not lend sixpence. He considered that was the sort of man whose hoarded wealth ought to be taken for the development of India. He then read a letter which he had sent to the local newspapers during an election in Ross and Cromarty, which stated that the high prices for food-grains and the wretched condition of the cattle were responsible for the spread of sedition in India. He further stated that though holes may be picked in Mr. Keir Hardie's book by the critics, the fact remained that Mr. Keir Hardie showed up the poverty of India in its true light. He would like to say that no mention was made by Mr. Moore in his paper of the fortunes that had been made by grain-dealers in exporting wheat, rice and oilseeds from India, and referred to the immense sums which had been left by some large dealers in those articles on their death, and thought that they were the men who should develop India. He concluded by stating that he did not believe the Indians had got the money to carry out any works of the kind suggested.

PROFESSOR BOSE said that he had followed with great interest the paper which had been read, and would like to say first of all a few words about the lecture delivered in the London School of Economics. What the lecturer meant was that India was mainly an agricultural country and had been so up till now, and not an industrial country, and that as regards capital it was required from Europe. He thought that was confirmed by what Mr. Reid had stated that no money could be got out of a Maharajah's hoard for the development of a canal. That showed that Indians were very shy about their capital. It would be very well if what Mr. Biddulph had suggested could be carried out—namely, that local capital might be employed in local industries. It was quite an ideal system, but

it would be rather difficult to understand whether it would ever be carried out in practice. With regard to the hoarded wealth of India, he was not in a position to speak about that at all with any particular knowledge, and he thought it was useless to speak about a thing which one had not specially studied; but as an ordinary Indian he thought there was hoarded wealth with some of the big Maharajahs and zemindars, but the majority of the people had not anything which could be called hoarded wealth, and, even if they had any, they would be very reluctant to give out that money for any industrial purposes. He thought one of the reasons for this was that they had not properly qualified men in India who had sufficient knowledge to develop an industry. People in India in the last few years had lost a good deal of money, even poor men who could not afford it, owing to men who had come to Europe and such places and learnt imperfectly an industry for two or three years or so and then went out as experts in an industry and started and the whole thing collapsed. If properly qualified men actually went out to India, and if Indians came to Europe or went to America and studied the things thoroughly and then started some industries, capital would be forthcoming. With regard to the State taking up industry, that was a good idea, and they could then make over the industry to the people after they had shown that that was a profitable business, as recently the Bengal Government took up the fisheries and handed it over to the people, so that the people might develop it.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT said that the subject which Mr. Biddulph had brought forward was very important, and had once been very familiar to him when he was in charge of the P.W.D. of India, and they had been eager to encourage the construction of feeder lines in the manner Mr. Biddulph proposed. The great difficulty was that people who did not wish to hoard their money, but lent it out on interest or in business, still could find better interest than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but the proposal put forward was one which was very much required for India. One disadvantage of the present state of things was that almost all the works of utility, railways and irrigation, had been provided by English capital, and the interest on it had to be sent there, thus creating in ignorant minds the mistaken notion that there was really a drain of money which injured the prosperity of the country. On every ground it was far better if works in connection with railways and irrigation could be carried out in India with Indian capital, and in that sense he very strongly approved of Mr. Biddulph's scheme, under which the country should provide employment for its capital and its energies.

MR. K. CHOWDRY said that he agreed with Mr. Biddulph that India had proper systems of commerce, industries and manufactures; and was surprised when he attended the lecture at the London School of Economics to hear that through the influence of British rule India had adopted up-to-date systems of commerce and manufactures and so on. Development had taken place under British rule in many directions, such as irrigation and forests; but so far as the real industrial development was concerned, he did not think any serious attempt had ever been made. He had heard a good deal about this mythical wealth hoarded in India, and it

seemed to have suddenly become known to Sir Ernest Cable, a Calcutta merchant, but he had not advanced any proof with regard to it. With the exception of a handful of wealthy men to be met with in the principal towns, he challenged anybody in the room to say that there was hoarded wealth of any great value in India at all. He thought that when Sir Ernest Cable sprang upon the public his discovery of this mythical wealth no one took it seriously at all. He hoped the audience would not be carried away by the idea that there was hoarded wealth to any great extent. He did not, of course, deny that here and there hoards of coins had been unearthed; but, considering the general poverty of the masses, the aggregate of these hoards could only be a negligible quantity. He agreed with Mr. Biddulph's principle that State guarantee would be a good thing to induce the Indian investor to invest money in industries; but the form advocated—namely, in railways—would not be suitable, because India did not need any more railways. We have already a mileage of 30,000 against 23,000 miles of British railways. Railways had to depend, not on the population alone, but on the goods to be carried, as it was the goods that paid. The English railways were carrying four times as many passengers as the Indian railways and about eight times more merchandise, notwithstanding the difference in mileage. When our industries develop and merchandise increase railway expansion will naturally follow. He did not say that feeder railways or light railways would be altogether useless, but so far as those were concerned, they were getting all the capital they wanted through district guarantees, and there is little need of the State guarantee. If a State guarantee was forthcoming for such an industry as the sugar industry, he thought that the Indian capital would be attracted. The middle-class people who had spare wealth to invest were also money-lenders, and they were getting huge interest from money-lending. The State guarantee of $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 per cent. might be an inducement to divert them from money-lending, but they would hardly invest in trunk railways, because such undertakings were not looked upon with great favour in India. He thought that the railway passengers had a grievance against the administration of the railways, and another grievance was that Indians had not much share in the employment under the railway administration, although there were hundreds of England-returned Indians fully qualified for the superior positions, but they were excluded from them with the exception of a few. If it could be shown that railways were going to be a good thing for the people they might be attracted.

SIR ROBERT FULTON said he had not intended to speak but wished to answer the challenge that nobody in the room could come forward and bear testimony to the hoarded wealth of India. He admitted that in some parts of the country—e.g., in Behar—the people were very poor, because the population was so dense, but in other parts of the country, particularly East Bengal, of which he had knowledge, it was not so. There the peasantry made a large amount of money every year; they made fortunes out of jute, and his professional experience showed him that there was a good deal of hoarded wealth. The people did not invest their wealth; they liked to conceal it; they did not trust the money-lender. They took

their rupees and put them in earthen pots, and buried them under the floors of their houses. In Eastern Bengal they also made silver ornaments for their wives with their money, but as a rule they liked to bury it in the ground for the purpose of concealing it. But that was not always successful, because it soon got about that a man was well off, and the result was that one night a gang of dacoits would come, with their faces tied up with cloths, with their loins girded, and carrying sticks and torches, and they robbed the people. The torches were used, not only for the purpose of illumination, but for the purpose of persuading the people of the house to show where the treasure was, and if they could not find it in that way they would dig up the floor. He thought that people generally did not know much about the dacoities, only the police and the officials, and even the police did not know half the dacoities that were committed. He thought it very curious indeed that these dacoities should be most numerous near Calcutta, and so close to the seat of jurisdiction of the High Court, but that was perhaps illustrative of the native proverb, "Beneath the lamp there is darkness." He had been in one district—Burdwan—for six or seven years, and the Maharajahs of that place always hoarded their wealth. It was a matter of honour for every succeeding Maharajah to add something to the hidden treasure that was buried beneath the palace. He was there when a Maharajah died, and his heir was a young boy; so the estate fell into the hands of the Court of Wards, and the hidden treasure was unearthed. It took a week to count it, and there was also unearthed a lot of uncut gems. The money was devoted to works of public utility. He was quite sure hoarded wealth did exist, but whether, as Sir Ernest Cable said, it would be advisable to have an inquiry with regard to it, he would say little; he did not think it would be. He thought that the scheme of Mr. Biddulph, which had been laid before the meeting, would be a very good thing if it could be carried out. In the first place it would diminish crime; he did not think so much would be heard about the dacoities if the people did not keep their wealth in their houses. Secondly, it would develop the resources of the country, which he would be very glad to see developed by means of native capital. He entirely approved of the natives of the country wearing cloths which had been made in India, but did not approve of their attacking and destroying shops in which English cloths were sold. There had been very few attempts to develop native industries. He heard there was a lucifer match factory started in Calcutta, but it had come to nothing, and there was a bank started, and that also had come to nothing. He remembered paying a visit to the Maharajah of Darbhanga, and saw a great number of gentlemen sitting round a table. He asked the Maharajah who they were, and was told that they had come to start a native bank. The Maharajah said they wanted him to help with capital, but he was only giving them two lacs of rupees. He would be very glad to see native industries and works of public utility started with native capital if possible. He did not know whether Mr. Biddulph would be able to persuade the Government of India or local boards to take the matter up. He thought there would be a great difficulty about it, because the people would be very chary about investing their capital, and, in the

second place, he did not think the Government of India or the local boards would ever give the guarantees which were necessary for the successful introduction of the scheme.

MR. W. COLDSTREAM said he considered the truth as to the hoarded wealth of India lay between two extremes; there was, no doubt, a great deal of abject poverty in India, chiefly amongst the congested populations, but in many parts of the country, particularly the province with which he was best acquainted, the Punjab, there was going on an accumulation of wealth among the peasantry. For many years the Punjab had been exploited by European merchants to the great advantage of the agriculturists of that province, and still more recently there had been created, by the formation of the Canal Colonies, an outlet for an agricultural industry of a most valuable description. He was able to bear testimony to the habit of hoarding wealth. It was his duty to visit the headquarters of the Sirdar of the Punjab on the occasion of the death of the head of the family, and he was present when the floors were broken up and boxes of rupees, many of the boxes rotten, were unearthed. Every district magistrate knew that with many of the better-class peasantry their houses did contain a certain amount of hoarded wealth. With reference to the application of capital suggested by Mr. Biddulph, he thought that in the native states there was a field for the enterprise of the kind suggested, which had often been discussed as to whether it is the province of the State to take up industrial enterprises. There was a good deal to be said on both sides, and many persons who had lived long in India thought in certain cases and under certain conditions the State should show the way in industrial enterprises. This he believed to be sound political economy. The Maharajah of Cashmere was doing good in this way in the introduction of sericulture; it was for the great benefit of his own treasury, and no doubt for the benefit of the people. It was the lead of the Government of India in the tea industry which led to the development of that very large and important industry in the north of India.

MR. REGINALD MURRAY stated that he had had a residence in India of forty years, and his occupation was chiefly banking. He took a great interest in the banking development of the country, and thought that what had happened went to show that there had been a considerable amount of hoarded wealth and the extension of banking was gradually drawing that out. That was the argument which he put forward several years ago, and he had letters from the natives of the Punjab and the North-West Provinces confirming what he said and stating that for the future they intended to keep their money in banks instead of hoarding it. Since that time a great number of native joint-stock banks had been started in the Punjab and in the North-West Provinces, and he was glad to say that they were all doing extremely well. There was an entirely new native-owned bank in Bombay—the Bank of India—which was doing excellently. There was another bank called the India Specie Bank which was in the same position, and a bank called the Bank of India, and a small concern in Madras which had shown good returns. It was to be noticed that those banks all acquired good deposits. Where had those deposits come from? They had not

been taken from other banks, because the other banks which existed before also increased their deposits; therefore, he argued that these banks must have got their money from private hoards or money which was lying idle, and the provision of native banks must no doubt develop the country. He had noticed that every year in the Presidency towns when the export season came on money was extremely dear; the bank rate was 10 and 12 per cent. in December, January, and February, and in June and July money could not be lent at 2 per cent. That was an extraordinary state of things. He thought the reason was that there was something which prevented the money of India generally flowing to the places of greatest pressure. He believed that with the development of banking in India the hoards would be drawn out and the money would be better circulated. As a proof of that, this year, which is one of the largest exports on record, the presidency bank rates had not gone above 7 or 8 per cent., and there had been no new coinage in rupees. That showed that the rupees had been circulating more freely, and to have brought this about the rupees must have come from the interior. As to Mr. Biddulph's proposal to guarantee $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. instead of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., he hardly thought that the extra 1 per cent. would be necessary. The only loans of the Government of India which give $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. were largely taken up by the natives, and he did not see why they should not be attracted just as much by a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. guarantee as a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. guarantee. He thought one of the reasons why more money was not subscribed to railways in India was that the loans which were issued were practically not offered in India, or they did not come before the general public; if they were offered in the same way as Government paper was offered, he believed they would be more freely taken up.

MR. A. CHATTERTON said, in reference to the question of hoarding, that no one who knew the country well would dispute the fact that it prevailed to a very large extent. Between April, 1903, and April, 1908, the net imports of gold and silver into India were valued at over £92,000,000, and in addition at least £10,000,000 worth of gold had been raised in Mysore, so that in a period of five years more than one hundred millions sterling had been added to the stock of the precious metals in India. Most of it was hoarded either in coin or jewellery, and very little indeed was put to any productive purpose. Practically it was buried in the ground, and it was curious to reflect that in one part of the British Empire—the Transvaal—the energies of the people were devoted to getting the gold out of the earth, that in another—India—they were largely occupied in putting it back again.

He strongly sympathized with Mr. Biddulph in his desire to devise means to diminish the practice of hoarding, but he did not think the proposals before them would materially contribute to the attainment of that object. An extra 1 per cent. guaranteed by Government might prove attractive to the educated classes, but they were a very small minority, and as a rule invested their savings, and without much difficulty they were able to get 9 per cent. on reasonably safe security. Some of the objections to Mr. Biddulph's proposals had already been mentioned, but no one had

discussed any alternative. Time would not permit him to more than indicate the direction in which he thought a solution would be found. Hoarding was partly an instinct, which it would be difficult to eradicate, and was partly the result of ignorance how to usefully employ money that had been saved. The remedy obviously was education and the extension of co-operative banking. The high rates of interest now prevailing would disappear when credit was better developed, and this would lead to a search for profitable outlets other than those afforded by money-lending. Industrial investments could at present only rarely offer as good a return as could be got from money-lending, but if the people learned to pool their credit, as apparently they were doing, he thought it would prove a long step towards learning to pool their savings for some useful and profitable purpose. Mr. Biddulph's scheme might be possible in a small native State, but it could hardly be recommended to the Finance Minister of the Government of India as a policy to be adopted in dealing with the finances of a great empire. The problem which awaited solution in India was to provide for industrial development on a small scale. Large joint-stock undertakings were not in favour, but money was fairly freely forthcoming for local enterprises where the investors would enjoy local prestige, and would, in a way that they at any rate appreciated, get a run for their money. It was in this direction that they were working in the Madras Presidency, and he could easily furnish evidence that a not inconsiderable degree of success had been obtained. If instead of giving a bonus to native capitalists the money were expended in a scientific study of the needs and resources of the people, and if as the result of such inquiries the lines along which material progress could best be made were pointed out to them, he felt certain that enough capital would be provided locally to carry on the work.

MR. BIDDULPH : The matter upon which I lay most stress is the provision of a market for the securities. That is the great difficulty. Supposing the people invest, and the money was forthcoming at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in encouraging the taking up of shares, it may be debentures and so on, it is the offering of a ready means of realizing their holding which is the most important point of the whole lot. I think giving the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *and the means of realizing*, those two combined will, in my humble opinion, produce the results. Deposits in banks, or other investments, do not provide such security, or, in the case of bank-deposits, a better rate.

THE CHAIRMAN : Gentlemen, I am sure you will all agree with me that we have had a most interesting discussion, and we are very much obliged to Mr. Biddulph for his paper.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Biddulph for his interesting paper.

A vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman for presiding.

The proceedings then terminated.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, June 13, 1910, when a paper was read by Charles E. Drummond Black, Esq. (late of the India Office), on "An India Museum as a Memorial of His Late Majesty King Edward VII." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E.; Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E.; Sir George Watt, C.I.E.; Mr. K. G. Gupta, C.S.I.; Commander Sir Hamilton Freer Smith, R.N., C.S.I.; Professor Boyd Dawkins, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L.; Colonel Hendley, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E.; Mr. S. Digby, C.I.E.; Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. G. Butler, Director-General of Stores, India Office; Mr. A. J. Dalton, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. R. A. L. Moore, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mrs. Ernest Rosher, Mrs. White, Mrs. Drummond Black, Miss Beck, Mr. G. Annas, Mr. S. Benjamin, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss A. L. Bowles, Mr. N. P. Shukla, Mr. S. B. Banaji, Mr. W. E. Phelps, Mr. K. C. Chowdry, Professor N. N. Bose, Mr. R. Nundi, Mr. R. N. Ray, Mr. P. Mazundar, the Misses Vrydenberg, Mr. K. S. Pantulu, Mr. J. A. Fergusson, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E.

THE CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced the lecturer, the paper was read:

MR. CHISHOLM, in explaining the position and dimensions of the proposed building, said that it would be on the south bank of the Thames, midway between Westminster Bridge and Charing Cross Bridge. The axis, lying at right angles to the river, the building would face south, which all Indian buildings should do. The style of architecture would be pure Gujarati, one of the happiest amalgamations of Hindoo and Moslem art. He proposed that the external portion should be entirely executed by Indians in London, with Indian materials (hear, hear), so that they would have a perfect Indian building, and not an echo of one. The shell would be constructed by Englishmen, so that the workmen of both nations would be benefited. With regard to the size of the building, he had carefully got out the details. The length of the building would be about 370 feet; the breadth, 210 feet; the height, 130 feet; and the area, 157,251 superficial feet, exclusive of corridors and staircases. The cost would be between £700,000 and £800,000. That cost was based on the actual amount sanctioned for the London County Council Hall. There could be no competition between the appearance of the London County Council Hall and the proposed Museum, because the latter would be in such an entirely different style as to challenge no comparison. One might be likened to the beauty and grace of woman, the other to the strength and wisdom of man—as Tennyson expressed it: "Not like to like, but like in difference; perfect music set to noble words." (Hear, hear.) Mr. Black, he thought, had not made enough of one point—namely, that the Museum was a

necessity. If the Germans found it necessary to have a fine Indian Museum in Berlin, surely England ought to go one better. Germany had at present in Berlin its Hall of Indian Manufactures, where prices and all the information necessary for trading with India are collected and accessible. If England did not awake to realize the necessity of such a Museum, she would have to sleep on and take her rest. He would be happy to answer any questions concerning architectural points.

PROFESSOR BOYD DAWKINS said he had studied the matter more particularly in connection with the successful efforts which were made to prevent the destruction of the existing Indian Museum at South Kensington. He did not know anything more deplorable in the existing attitude of the public than the carelessness with which they had looked upon the magnificent historical collection which had begun in the days of Warren Hastings, and had been gradually accumulated by the East India Company, and which extended not merely over the area of India, but over the area of the whole of the East. There was there an epitome, not merely of the gradual conquest of India, but also of the wonderful effect which India had had in introducing the English Raj into the surrounding country. The view that was taken at the time was that the English conscience, being asleep, the first thing to be done was to arouse it, and he was glad to say that the proposed action of the Board of Education gave the necessary stimulus. They had not only intended to pull to pieces that magnificent monument, which might never be got together again, but they intended to scatter the exhibits among the great collection in the new galleries at South Kensington, classified according to materials, so that the magnificent group of Indian art, which was an essential feature of an Indian Museum, would be absolutely lost. It was like taking a book to pieces and distributing it according to the letters. However, they had organized an opposition which was of such a nature that the Board of Education were compelled to listen to it. The deputation to the Minister of Education represented, not merely the feelings of this country, but it also represented the feelings of the natives of India, and Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, who was the spokesman on the part of India, pointed out the enormous political mischief which would be done by the proposed action, and the enormous value which an Indian museum was purely from a political point of view; he told the Board of Education that it would not be worth their while, even if it were a matter of hundreds of thousands of pounds, to raise the indignation that such action would raise in India. The proposed museum was of importance to India, but while that was so, it was important also to England. They were sending young men out to India year after year, where the atmosphere was absolutely different, straight from Oxford, and they were pitchforked into India, where everything was different. He pointed out how much better it would be to have some central institute to which young men could go to in London, and in which they could study, not merely the natives, but the literature, the art, and the whole system of Indian study in the highest sense in an Eastern atmosphere in London. He thought the matter was not primarily a matter for India, but that it concerned England. There was an Indian Museum in Berlin

and he thought England ought to have had one years ago. At present there were only two places where anybody could study Indian matters to any advantage—one was at Washington, and the other at Berlin. He thought that they were all agreed that a central institution of the kind which had been sketched out, which would bring India home to the minds and to the eyes of the English people, was a thing which all patriotic people who thought about the matter must have very much at heart. It was their duty to do what they could to stir up the public in that connection. The commercial aspect had been emphasized by the write of the paper, and he had very properly put it in the front. To his (the speaker's) mind the educational side was equally valuable. He thought they should have a great central institute in London, which would be Oriental in character, which should contain the Oriental collection. When he used the term "Oriental collection," he meant that, while it would be centred round India, yet it would take in such things as related to Burma, Siam, and the surrounding parts. There was such a difference between Eastern and Western art and ideas that it would be one of the very highest forms of education. They must have an adequate institution, which must include the commercial side, the historical side, the ethnological side. It should, further, be in close touch with the proposed Institute of Oriental Languages recommended by the Royal Commission, because it would give them "the Oriental atmosphere," and bring the study of the languages in line with the study of the arts and the races of the East.

MR. W. G. BUTLER, speaking as the Director-General of Stores, India Office, said the site of the present *dépôt* was the most eligible place in the whole of London to ship their goods from. The Secretary of State had purchased the freehold some fifteen years ago. During that fifteen years circumstances had altered considerably, and now, as a rule, the heavy goods, which in his younger days were dealt with at the *dépôt*, were now contracted for f.o.b. in the various ports. At Belvedere Road they had their own dock and their own cranes. Another objection to erecting the proposed Museum on the present site of the *dépôt* was that, if the building was heavy, it might sink down into the Thames mud, it being on Lambeth Marsh. Anyhow, the foundations would be very expensive. He could assure the meeting that there was no place on the Thames between the Docks and Westminster Bridge which was more convenient at present for receiving and storing their goods than Belvedere Road. It held a position as regards railway facilities which was unique. He also thought that a museum ought not to be put on the south side of the Thames. In conclusion, he was confident that the Secretary of State, having spent many thousands of pounds on the place, would not give it up except at a profit, and probably not even then.

MR. K. C. CHOWDRY thought that the lecturer had not made out a strong case in favour of the proposal. He thought there were plenty of museums to remind the natives of England that there was a great country called India within their Empire. The lecturer had alluded to the several emporia of the different colonies in the Strand. They were to attract British capital and emigrants, which was what they did not want for India.

He did not think a museum, such as had been advocated, would serve any useful purpose. A central place large enough to house all the Indian collections in London appears to be a matter of necessity. The lecturer hoped to get part of the money from India, but he would be disappointed. The money which the Indian Princes subscribed towards the Victoria Memorial Fund was money subscribed to a white elephant. He thought a better way of commemorating King Edward's reign would be the foundation of a Technical Institute at Calcutta.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD said Mr. C. E. D. Black had favoured them with an excellent paper, and his proposal of an Indian museum as a memorial of King Edward VII. was worthy in itself of all support, while Mr. Chisholm's design for the building, in the style of Gujerati Saracenic architecture, was a thing of perfect beauty, and whether reproduced in stone or not, it would remain, for those who had had that afternoon the privilege of seeing it, a joy for ever. But Mr. Chisholm admitted that it would cost from £700,000 to £800,000, not counting the cost of the site in Belvedere Road. Well, in his own estimation, it would cost not less than £1,000,000; and, in his conviction, the desired site would never be given up to it, for love or for money. And where was the money to come from? Not from the people of England; and if India was to be called upon to contribute to a special and self-contained and exclusive Indian museum, it should be for the purpose of completing the Victoria Memorial Museum at Calcutta, or for establishing and endowing one in Bombay or at Madras. India must never be made a fool of again, as in the wanton, cruel, and scandalous instance of the Imperial Institute, which now stands voided of all the higher purposes it was promoted, and amply provided, to subserve, and cheated of its very name! It is useless saying that Germany has such an Indian museum in Berlin such as Mr. C. E. D. Black wants, and we would all rejoice to see here, and in Mr. Chisholm's ideal building. Germany does these things, and we do not; for in plain fact the Germans are better Englishmen than we are ourselves, which is the simple explanation of the economic and political friction always latent, and now becoming ominously patent, between the United Kingdom and the German Empire. But the Scots—and Scotland rightly extends to the Humber—are better Germans than the Germans themselves; and Dr. Forbes Watson, the aboriginal author of Mr. C. E. D. Black's scheme for an Indian museum in London, was one of the ablest, the sleuthest, and the most perfervid of Scots, and if he—supported as he was by the chambers of commerce throughout the United Kingdom, and by a large body of irresponsible politicians "on the make"—if he failed in his pet project, who of all of us is going to succeed? And the estimates for Mr. C. E. D. Black's museum are four times higher than they were for Dr. Forbes Watson's scheme! He was "speaking from the book" in making these criticisms. He not only assisted in founding the Victoria and Albert Museum in Bombay, but under the instructions of the Secretary of State for India in Council had carried out the "scattering" of the old India Museum collections, of which Professor Dawkins and previous speakers had so bitterly complained. The mineralogical and geological collections were sent to the Jermyn Street Museum, the botanical

to Kew, the commercial and industrial to the Imperial Institute, where they remain, the antiquarian and ethnographical to the British Museum, and the art collections to the South Kensington Museum. It was a splendid solution of the then pressing problem of the proper utilization of these collections both in the interest of the natives of this country and the natives of India. Even to-day, a fully extended, endowed, organized, and administered Indian museum of the concentrated and self-sufficient type is impossible in this country, and possible only in India; and the magnificent collections of the natural and industrial and artistic productions of India that have been amassed in this country for now a century and a half can still only be turned to the utmost advantage of this country and of India by being distributed—"scattered," as stigmatized—as they were by the Secretary of State for India in 1879-1880. He was indignant with Professor Boyd Dawkins for comparing the recent rearrangement of the art collections in the new galleries of the South Kensington—or, as now named, the Victoria and Albert—Museum, under the head of materials—for comparing this with taking out the letters of the alphabet in a sentence—say a verse of Shelley's—and classing them in their alphabetical order—a, b, c, and so on to z—and then asking you to make what you could out of it. The arrangement merely meant that all the artistic objects from all countries of the same material were all placed together, and for the express purpose of more intelligent and more instructive and more inspiring comparison—the articles of stone all together, of gold and silver, etc., all together, and of wood, and of cotton and linen, and of silk and wool, to the end of the chapter. This comparative study of the arts was as essential to our arriving at a full and true knowledge of them, as was the comparative study of animals for the purpose of thoroughly understanding the nature of man. As for South Kensington not being in a central position, every point in infinity was its centre; and South Kensington, Jermyn Street, Bloomsbury, Charing Cross, London Bridge, or Westminster, are equally each the centre of the infinity which is London!

All the same, he would delight in having a concentrated Imperial Indian Museum in London, and Mr. Chisholm's building for its housing, and the Belvedere *bunder* by Westminster Bridge for its site, but—and it's an insurmountable "but" anywhen in our time, and:—"Don't you wish you may get it!"

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE said that, although the last speaker had given a reason justifying the dispersal of the articles of the Indian collection, he believed that there was a stronger case for keeping the collection together and putting all the dispersed parts into one central home. There was a certain amount of force in the assertion of the last speaker that articles of different countries, placed side by side with their kind, would be of educational value for comparison, but he thought they could get over that argument by resorting to the well-known plan of duplicating articles and placing them side by side, while it was most desirable, also, to have an Indian collection pure and simple in a building of its own. As regards the scheme which had been put forward by the

lecturer and idealized by Mr. Chisholm, who had made a beautiful design of what might be perhaps attained in the future, he would very much like to ask for details of it from Mr. Chisholm, if there was any chance of its fulfilment. With regard to the practical part of the scheme, he did not believe, considering the present state of the finances of India, and of Great Britain with Mr. Lloyd George as custodian of the public funds, that there was any immediate prospect of a sufficient sum being allocated for the building of a new museum. Of course, if it could be accomplished they would all be very glad to see it. He did not believe that any of those in the room would live to see its accomplishment. What, then, was to be done? It was quite clear that the Indian collection should not be broken up. Their combined efforts last year led to Mr. Runciman promising that the collections should be kept together. And they were not dispersed, consequently, but it was time now to think of locating them under one roof. He could not think hopefully of a prospect of an Indian commemoration of the great and glorious reign of King Edward VII. being erected in London with Indian money, as suggested by the lecturer. A memorial of that description should be in India itself.

He was in favour, from an Imperial point of view, of there being a central collection of Indian historical and other articles in the metropolis of the British Empire; but he thought the preponderating part, if not the whole, of the expenditure of such a scheme, should come from the British Exchequer. As Dr. Boyd Dawkins had reminded them, it had been his privilege, when on the deputation which Lord Curzon headed last year, to advocate the retention of the Indian collection as a whole on Imperial grounds. He then stated, and would now repeat, that if the British Exchequer refused the necessary funds for its adequate location, it would be taken as a proof of the indifference of the British nation towards the Indian dominion of the Crown. Being thus in favour of the collection being retained as a whole, he thought, instead of waiting for an indefinite time, something practical ought to be done towards that end without delay. They had before them a ready means, which could be adopted without much difficulty; there was the Imperial Institute at South Kensington, a noble building—a building in which the late Queen Victoria and the late King Edward VII. had taken a personal interest—and they all thought it was a pity that the Institute had not attained the accomplishment of its purpose, which was to form an Imperial centre for the outlying portions of the Empire. There was a great complaint in India, on the part of the various Princes and peoples who had given donations, which they regard as forgotten and wasted owing to the Imperial Institute being put to other purposes than those for which it was understood by them to have been originally designed. He suggested that the collection should be housed there, and if this suggestion were adopted, the Imperial Institute would be serving to a very large extent the original purpose of its inception. It would to some extent satisfy the people of India that the Imperial Institute was utilized for at least one feature of its conception, and they would save the Indian collection at once from its present undecided fate, until some great scheme in a future generation, such as that

which had been exhibited in Mr. Chisholm's drawing, could be accomplished. He thought the paper which had been read would be of great value, although the scheme which it advocated could not be secured if it revived once more the interest which was aroused last year with regard to the Indian collection. (Applause.)

SIR GEORGE WATT said he had spent a large portion of his life in charge of an Indian museum, and he had therefore some technical knowledge of the subject under discussion. The first question with regard to all museums of the nature proposed should be, not the features of architecture of the external shell, but the nature and extent of the collections proposed to be exhibited. There was nothing more disastrous to the utility of a museum or more disheartening to the officer in charge than to find that he had a collection which he could not assort within the building at his disposal. It should be built in direct regard to the collections intended to be displayed. From that point of view, assuming they were to have in London in some central position a building that would contain the whole of the art collections, the whole of the commercial collections, and the whole of the ethnological collections, he thought the proposed building would be found to contain about a third the size of actual collection galleries that would be required. He was quite sure that if they were to bring to London the collections which were under his charge at Calcutta and attempt to put these into the proposed building it would be impossible to assort them satisfactorily. It was no use having collections of bottles arranged three or four deep within glass cabinets. A museum of that sort served no industrial purpose. There must be space for the systematic study of the collections by those in charge; there must be room for people to walk about; there must be consulting-rooms and libraries; there must be lecture halls for public meetings to discuss the collections; and unless such facilities were provided the museum would be absolutely useless. To be of any practical use the collection must be arranged on the basis of utility. If they were going to have an Indian National Museum in London it must be a museum which would bring home to the people of this country the vast resources and future possibilities of the Indian Empire, and the location of such a museum must turn on the suitability to that programme, not its æsthetic advantages.

MR. CHISHOLM said, with regard to the point that had been raised by one of the speakers, that the foundations of the building which he proposed were perfectly safe, because they were 12 below Ordnance datum.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I came here with an open mind on the question as to whether it was feasible to have a great museum or not. With regard to Mr. Chowdry's remarks, he was entirely against a museum under any circumstances, and said that the result of it would be to attract British capital to India. I thought the general complaint was that we took the money from India. (Hear, hear.) As regards the feasibility of obtaining a central museum, I do not think any of the speakers opposed the museum, but they doubt the practicability of getting the funds and the site. I agree with the remarks of Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree. I am sorry to think that the idea put forward by Mr. Chisholm should not take

effect, but I think the idea of Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee of re-establishing the Imperial Institute for its original object and intention is a possibility, and I think it is a thing which will find favour with those who have at heart the idea of centralizing the collection so as to give to the British public, and particularly those who are to be directly associated with the Government of India, some opportunity of becoming acquainted with the atmosphere, as it has been termed, of India.

With regard to the question of the artistic collection of European art and Indian art, I believe Sir G. Watt told me in 1903 that they are very closely related. I cannot see why collections should not be duplicated. You could have one collection giving a general representative idea of what is connected with India, and at the same time you might have duplicates in regard to special branches of art and industry. I hope that Mr. Black, who has been so good as to pay such attention to this subject, will not feel that his energies have been at all wasted. As Lord Curzon said in the letter which Mr. Black has read, no doubt it will still further ventilate the scheme and lead people to appreciate the magnitude of the Indian Empire. I think it would be desirable to have under one roof, or in one set of buildings at all events, a collection of those products of India that will bring home to the public in this country some idea of what India is responsible for. (Applause). I am sure I am only voicing the opinion of all those present in this hall when I say that we all feel grateful to Mr. Black for his goodness in having compiled this paper, and I would ask you to give effect to those views in the ordinary way. (Loud applause.)

MR. BLACK having thanked the Meeting, on the motion of Mr. Chowdry, seconded by Mr. Digby, a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the Chairman.

The following letters, received by Mr. Black, were read :

ENGLEMER,
 ASCOT, BERKS,
 June 1, 1910.

DEAR MR. BLACK,

I am very sorry I cannot accept your invitation to the lecture you are to give on June 13 on an Indian Museum in London as an Indian memorial to the late King.

I entirely agree with you as to the desirability of having such a museum, and as to the idea of its being on the site near where the new London County Council Hall is being erected being an excellent one.

I return, with many thanks, the summary of the paper which you kindly sent to me.

Yours very truly,
 ROBERTS.

HACKWOOD,
 BASINGSTOKE,
 June 12, 1910.

DEAR MR. BLACK,

As you know, I am entirely in favour of collecting under a single roof the mass of Indian exhibits at present so unworthily housed at Kensington and elsewhere, of adding to them as time goes on, and of

presenting to the eyes of the London resident or visitor a sort of microcosm of our wonderful Indian Empire, which at present we seem to do our best effectively to hide away, as though it were something which the ordinary man cannot be expected to understand.

Such a form of advertisement would be equally valuable to Great Britain and India, and would render an Imperial service.

From the attitude of members of His Majesty's Government on the occasion of the deputation last year I think that they, too, were not unfavourably disposed.

The main difficulty in carrying out any such idea would, no doubt, be that of site and funds. It is true that the site of the India Store Depot which you advocate is a very noble one, and that it belongs to the Secretary of State. But if it were surrendered for your purpose, I imagine that another site for the stores would have to be purchased elsewhere, and there would still remain the museum building to be erected.

While I should like to see the Home Government contribute to any such object, the bulk of the money would, I suppose, be sought for in India. It would hardly be fair to expect India, which provided liberally by voluntary donation for the Imperial Institute, to do the same thing again on a great scale, in the present state of Indian finances. The Government of India might feel some reluctance in any large commitment of their own resources.

These are practical difficulties, which should not be ignored. Further discussions of the matter cannot fail to be of value, as emphasizing the unchallengeable importance of the central idea—namely, the worthy and adequate representation of India in London.

I am,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the Meeting, the proceedings terminated.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

BLACKIE AND SON ; LONDON, GLASGOW, DUBLIN, AND
BOMBAY.

1. *Japan in World Politics: A Study of International Dynamics*, by HENRY DYER, C.E., M.A., D.SC., Emeritus Professor of the University of Tokyo, etc. Mr. Dyer's work is a harvest of deep thought; each chapter is, as it were, a sheaf of mental food—food which was never more needed than at this present time to carry us through this momentous epoch of the world's history, made all the more critical by reason of the deplorable loss of our peace-loving Monarch, King Edward VII.

Mr. Dyer commences his book, after the manner of most authors, by giving a résumé of the principal events that have happened in Japan from the earliest period down to the present time, all that relates to events which have occurred during the last fifty years naturally proving of the greater interest.

The wars with China and Russia have been discussed, as well as the ultimate or probable issues of these responsible undertakings. "The Rise of Japan as a World Power," "Factors of National Life," "Civilization of East and West," are some of the subjects to which lengthy chapters are devoted. We have already derived much information lately from Count Okuma's "Fifty Years of New Japan" from the native point of view, while from Mr. Dyer's book we are enlightened by means of individual explanation, this able author having devoted many years of his life to the study of the people and their place in world politics.

It is quite evident that the time has come for the dynamic influence to claim attention of all who are concerned in the welfare of their individual countries. The mist of prejudice must be cleared away, and the mutual activity of the East

and West be strong and decisive. The one great truth that God has made of one blood all nations of the earth has to be realized and accepted, however divergent may be the thoughts, customs, and tenets of the varying races. To work together for the common weal should be the watchword of the nations, now that many who isolated themselves in former centuries yearn for a better understanding, and are willing to lay aside race prejudices, ancient customs, and established administrations for the better remodelling of legislation after the manner of successful and newer forms of government.

In Mr. Dyer's book we are reminded that there is no dividing line in the plan of the firmament to barrier the East from the West. In the rapid march of civilization that has hastened its speed during the last few centuries Western progress has become by self-assertion most prominent; but we are apt to forget, while carrying our civilization and evangelization across the seas, we are only returning in a new form that which in ages long ago originated in the Orient itself.

The activity that is now going on in the East cannot be too fully realized or estimated. It will have a marked effect in the near future on all countries, especially those whose shores are washed by the waves of the Pacific. "The engineer is responsible for the shrinkage of the world into small dimensions"; his work has revolutionized the earth and its inhabitants, and has brought us into touch with one another. Therefore we must not overlook the fact that the tie is strong and true that binds us all together, and particularly to the nations of the East. The bond of brotherhood is sacred among the vast families of the Buddha-loving people, because they have ever influenced each other's history. The awakening of China is slow, but sure. China is beginning to realize the enormous possibilities of its teeming millions, its trade resources, its military capacity; while features of its ethical condition long held in reserve prove the nation's aptitude to learn by

imitation, if not by reason of originality, the magnitude of the powers of progress. The contempt with which China viewed Japan for forsaking old traditions and customs which was felt before the war has greatly diminished, for China is now preparing to forsake many of its own. All this, coupled with the advancement of Japan, and the alertness and almost passionate desire of the rising generation of older constitutions, seeking to remodel their future on modern lines, makes the politics of the Eastern hemisphere complicated, but highly fascinating. Moreover, we must not forget the keen, attentive attitude of India, watching and profiting by the problems that are being successfully, in many instances, worked out by neighbouring nations allied in thought as well as in creed and culture.

In the throes of its intermediate state Japan is ever seeking to secure the best, to adopt the truest, to reject with courtesy all that is unnecessary, and in the meantime incorporate with the grand ancient civilization of its own, based on the foundation of Bushido, that which will be acceptable and flourish best among the people.

Chapters v. and vi. "Japan and the Pacific Area," commend themselves to all who are interested in the question of the Pacific Ocean, and the commercial priority that must be decided and settled before long by the ruling nations seeking the supremacy of its waters. Vast multitudes will be effected by changes that must soon be made. The trade and commerce of the world is the one absorbing topic—the question of vital importance; for the needs of the people are growing apace, hands are outstretched for willing labour, and administrators are seeking to solve in a pacific manner the burning questions of the day. By the balance of power and alliances peace alone can be secured and negotiations concluded. If justice is insisted on, and the true brotherhood of nations unaffected by over-ambition on either side, all will be well.

In Mr. Dyer's weighty but most interesting book will be

found valuable suggestions and reflections on all these subjects. We shall be glad to see it pass into a second edition, for there is one defect which may prevent it being read as widely as we should wish. The paper on which it is written is tough as well as heavy, difficult to sever by reason of the top double fold constantly demanding manual labour of the earnest readers, who become deeply absorbed in the varied themes of the successive chapters, covering over 400 pages.—S.

LUZAC AND CO.; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON.

2. *Sun Tzŭ on the Art of War: the Oldest Military Treatise in the World*, by LIONEL GILES, M.A. In spite of Lord Roberts' professional certificate, good-naturedly given to Mr. Giles, to the effect that many of Sun Tzŭ's maxims of 2,400 years ago would hold perfectly good in the conduct of modern warfare, it is to be feared that ambitious young soldiers of the Haldanean era will not tumble over each other in their indecent haste to lay out half a guinea in order to acquire these maxims for practical use, and that Sir R. Baden-Powell will scarcely be prepared out of sheer military enthusiasm to present a free copy of these war secrets to each of his boy scouts. This is not to say that Mr. Giles has failed in his task. In fact, he takes one's breath away by the very completeness with which he has accomplished it, and the last thing in the world he need be nervous about is that unkind critics will unfairly attack him, because "I have been at some pains to put a sword into the hands of future opponents by scrupulously giving either text or reference for every passage translated." There is nothing to rouse an opponent, nothing but good to be said of a method which includes, first of all, giving the full Chinese text of the work translated; secondly, the translator's own remarks upon the difficulties in the text and the real probable meaning; and, thirdly, the fullest possible translation of the illustrative observations the 2,000 years

or so of Chinese commentators have seen fit to make. However the work has been accomplished, it has been done right well. When Mr. Lionel Giles speaks of his two solitary predecessors in the same field rather severely, he is only following the natural bent of that *méchant animal*, the sinologue; but he is not unjust, if not exactly gentle. It seems at first sight harsh to characterize Père Amiot's "so-called translation" of 1782 as "little better than an imposture." One may rightly (if not very generously) go much farther than that, and qualify as practically useless the whole of the vast translation work of the early Jesuits; not, it is true, on account of any neglect or want of capacity of their own, but simply because "sinology" has advanced—in its degree—just as aeroplanes have advanced; and what was the curious plaything of a century ago has tended to become the seriously studied and scientifically criticized literary achievement of to-day. Even the best of the old Jesuit work requires overhauling by the light of the increased accuracy attained within the past 150 years. As regards Captain Calthrop's unfortunate essay—made with "the aid of two Japanese gentlemen" in 1905, and republished in 1908 "without any allusion to his Japanese collaborators"—if, as Mr. Giles tells us, it is really so "excessively bad," then, surely, it was rather a noble self-sacrifice for Captain Calthrop to take all the odium of a second edition upon himself. The hint that he was giving his "two gentlemen of Verona" the slip, and collaring the fair maid Fame all for himself alone, is rather too unkind. In any case, it is scarcely just to blame the ambitious and gallant *littérateur* because there is a "distressing Japanese flavour" about his translation. To take a certain warrior King's name for an instance: *Katsu-ryo* is a perfectly sound etymological form of what (in degenerate Pekingese) is now pronounced *Ho-lu*. The ancient Chinese syllable *hap* (alternatively *hat*) simply accentuates in Japan the initials and develops the finals that "peel off" altogether in feeble Pekingese. All Chinese words, without exception,

beginning with *k* must begin with *k* in Japan. All ancient consonantal finals, except *n* and *ng*, have totally disappeared in Peking. The Japanese tongue even now cannot utter a surd final *t*; it is obliged to say *ts*; just as the Poles are unable to say *r*, and are fain to say *rz* instead, as in the simple (but awe-inspiring) personal word *Przevalski*. The difference between the *a* of ancient and the *o* of modern China is that between the English "John D." and the "Jahn" or "Jawn D." of the multi-millionaire's twangy countrymen. As to *ryo*, all Chinese *l*'s become *r*'s in Japan; and if Japan is to blame for not being able to say *l*, then China is equally to blame for not being able to say *r*. Nor does the modified *u*-sound exist in their language; they must say *yo*. So with the Chinese (or, rather, rubbishy Pekingese) words *Wu* and *Yueh*, the two countries of *Go* and *Etsu*, which seem so revolting to Mr. Giles. Why, the Japanese pronunciation of these two words has for years been a perfect godsend to "sinologues" in accounting for such words as "the Eptals," "Vietnam," "Uzbeks," etc.; whilst the colloquial Japanese word *gofuku* (pronounced *gofeu*, the Pekingese *wu-fu*) for "a clothier," points clearly to the first decent "togs," or *fuk*, the half-savage Japanese obtained 2,000 years or more ago from *Wu* (i.e., the Shanghai-Ningpo region). Mr. Calthrop may not have succeeded very well, but his pioneer attempt does him credit; and there is no more reason to call his Japanese "flavour" a "distressing" one than there would be to call Lord Derby's translation of Homer "distressingly English" in flavour. And, by the way, it may be added here that by far the best and cheapest editions of the ancient Chinese philosophers, etc., are to be purchased in Japan. China is nowhere in comparison.

There is no reason whatever to doubt the real existence of Sun Wu or Sun Tzū. The same arguments apply to his case as to that of Lao Tzū, his contemporary (500 B.C.), who also is not mentioned in Confucius's history book, or by the commentators who extended it. There was no par-

ticular reason why he should have been mentioned, for he was a mere hireling soldier of fortune—rather a tactician than a strategist—engaged by a semi-barbarian semi-Chinese monarch (near Shanghai) to assist in conducting a campaign against a rival monarch of the same semi-civilized status (near Hankow). With monarchs in person in the field, it would not be good form for an official historian to enumerate mere *soudards*. The hireling diplomatists who "Bismarcked" the operation are mentioned in history, of course; but the Chinese Moltke takes a back-seat, as, indeed, the real Moltke does in our Western histories of his great campaign, except where specific military matters need mention.

The Chinese preface to the Japanese edition of the works of the philosopher Kwan-tzū (Premier of the State from which the mercenary Sun-tzū came about 150 years after Kwan-tzū's death in 643 B.C.), distinctly says that Lao-tzū's work of 5,000 words practically paraphrases Kwan-tzū, and that the thirteen chapters of Sun-tzū also copy Kwan-tzū's ideas. Kwan-tzū himself was a developer of the ideas of Chou Kung, the practical founder of the Chou dynasty's feudal system in 1100 B.C. Kwan-tzū's main principle was quite Rooseveltian: "Keep strong and ready for war, *if needful*; if not, let kindness be your motto." Moreover, Kwan-tzū devotes a whole chapter exclusively to military considerations and political strategy, besides scattering sage tactical remarks throughout his book. Even Lao-tzū has a good deal to say about soldiers and soldiering—nay, he alludes to what "former military men say," so that Sun-tzū's treatise is in no sense the most ancient; it is merely a sort of Lord Wolseley's soldiers' handbook based on existing literature, but for field use. Mr. Giles opens his text with the chapter "Laying Plans," or *ti*, and quarrels with both Amiot and Calthrop for saying "Fondements de l'art militaire" and "First Principles" respectively. As a specific proof of Kwan-tzū's influence, we may mention that in his sixth chapter, paragraph 1, Kwan-tzū actually

uses this identical word *ki*, "to calculate," or "strategy," and gives us the sentence *ki-shu t'eh-ye*—i.e., "this is true strategy," or, "thus the strategy succeeds." On p. 128 Mr. Giles actually cites a commentator, who refers back to Kwan-tzū. On p. 98 Mr. Giles finds a certain word "awkward." There is no use worrying the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* with details as to what this means; but it may be remarked that *yu su*, "there is a hitherto," is a perfectly common—almost colloquial—official expression for "he has a record," or "reputation," or "past experience," or a "back reference." Again, on p. 109, Mr. Giles apologizes for "a somewhat free translation." Not at all! *Tao* means "the way," "the proper way," "the ideal method"; hence he is quite right in translating it as "the test of." On p. 119 Mr. Giles has a sly dig at the brutality of the European troops at Peking in 1900. In this we cordially agree with him, though most persons prefer to burke the shame. Mr. Giles deserves credit for his courage. Our behaviour was a disgrace to Christianity and civilization; and when we gird at the Chinese and Japanese "brutality," we ought to remember with humiliation our own shortcomings, and make allowances for them. On p. 133 our own well-known military saying, "burn your boats," is taken directly out of Sun-tzū's own mouth, and in exactly the same sense. It has now passed into a Chinese adage. On p. 149 Mr. Giles makes the observation that rabbits are not indigenous to China, and were certainly not known there in the sixth century B.C. The question is not one of urgent interest; but, as Père David and Mr. Otto von Moellendorff are (or were) about the only serious zoologists who have ever worked in China, we should like some evidence on this curious point. Such a statement from a non-specialist ought clearly to be accompanied by proofs. Finally, p. 205, touching M. Chavannes' statement that the General Pan Tch'ao "n'a jamais porté les armes chinoises jusque sur les bords de la mer Caspienne," it is to be remarked that, although Pan Ch'ao himself did not go

so far, his Lieutenant, Kan Ying, certainly did, and under Pan Ch'ao's direct orders he went even as far as the Euphrates. But all the "strategy" of his move was Pan Ch'ao's, for the latter was trying to "smash the Ephthalite and Parthian Mahdis."—E. H. PARKER.

JOHN MURRAY ; LONDON.

3. *The Great Wall of China*, by WILLIAM EDGAR GEIL, M.A., LL.D., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S., F.A.G.S., etc., author of "A Yankee on the Yangtze," etc., with numerous illustrations.

It will be seen at once that Mr. Geil is a smart man, for he has "frills" to his name in the shape of no fewer than eight letters of the alphabet, distributed picturesquely over six combinations, or twenty-one varieties; and, as it may well be imagined, therefore, his book is plentifully decorated with "frills" too. We had the honour to notice his "Yankee on the Yangtze" some years ago (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1905), on which occasion attention was called to the somewhat forced quality of his humour, and to his absurd habit of translating Chinese proper names literally in such manner as to throw undeserved ridicule upon perfectly appropriate nomenclature.

"The quality of humour is not strained,
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath. . . . I spoke thus much
To mitigate the justice of his plea."

But Mr. Geil has been obdurate, and the defects of his minor work are heavily accentuated in the present more pretentious one—to such an extent, indeed, that its many good qualities are quite overshadowed by the gratuitous flippancy and irrelevancy of his obtrusive personal remarks, and it is impossible not to feel irritated with the rampageous author.

Had this not been so, we should have had greater pleasure in heartily congratulating Mr. Geil upon the

excellence of his numerous photographs of the Great Wall, which, even if unaccompanied by any descriptive text at all, would convey to the densest mind a very vivid impression of the country through and over which it passes. There are about 100 of them to the 350 pages of printed matter, most of which latter, however, has nothing at all to do with the Great Wall, and simply bores us with now tedious, now irresponsible, now sketchy, statements of what the author thinks upon every abstract subject under the sun, and of almost every country "upon earth" too. The whole production is a sort of pinchbeck Sterne's "Sentimental Journey," without the Sterne, without the literary style, and without either the wit or the humour. One rather novel feature—perhaps, after the admirable photographs, the most useful part of the book—is the large collection of proverbs in their original Chinese script, one at the top of almost every alternate page. Most of these are correctly given and idiomatically translated, though a few Chinese characters are wrongly printed (*e.g.*, on pp. 199, 245), and here and there the point seems to have been missed in the translation (*e.g.*, on pp. 39, 45, 135). But, however correct, these proverbs have no more bearing on the Great Wall than samples of ladies' millinery would have had; and the same thing may be said of the grotesque pictures of, for instance, "double-pigs," "one shoulder, three eyes nation," etc., with which the book is liberally interlarded, without connection, rhyme, or reason. Apparently Mr. Geil thinks it witty to call Ts'in Shih-hwang, or "the First Emperor of Ts'in," by the supposed personal name of "Chin" throughout the book—thus: "Chin was an old chief way back in the centuries" (p. 22); yet, on one and the same page, 55, we find the same individual described as "Chin" and as "Shih-hwang-ti," so that the author cannot plead ignorance, poor though even that plea would be. In the same way his son Êrh-shih Hwang-ti, or "the Second Emperor," is styled "Chin the Second" (p. 19). All this is very exasperating, and quite takes

away any sense of charm that a novel subject, beautifully illustrated by admirable pictures, ought to create. Then, again, such locutions as "his pal," "his ma," "muleing along" (on the analogy, it is presumed, of what in America is elegantly called "moting there")—these are not nice, not in good taste at all. Finally, the correction of proofs, so far as Chinese words are concerned, has not been thorough, or else the author is often only half informed; this is especially the case in the substitution of *n* for *u* (and *vice versa*) in proper names, both with reference to pictures and to text. The result is nonsense.

In a word, Mr. Geil "hab makee spilum numba one chancee" (his example is infectious). The book *might* have been, and *ought* to have been, an excellent one. Even with the numerous eye-sores, ear-sores, and taste-sores, above described, it is by no means destitute of merit. Fifty of the 350 pages would have been amply sufficient wherein to say all that the author has to say about his nominal subject (as it is, a mere refrain), the Great Wall of China. Instead of one picture to every three pages, there ought to have been two pictures to each single page; and 300 pages of Geilish or ghoulish sentimentality ought to have been ruthlessly consigned to the waste-paper basket or the fire. So far as the publisher is concerned, he has done his task well. The type appears to be that which was formerly used for the now extinct *Monthly Review*; the paper is beautifully light; the pictures are perfect; and the Chinese proverbs are "quite too consummately all but."—E. H. PARKER.

4. *Zambezia: A General Description of the Valley of the Zambezi River, from its Delta to the River Aroangwa, with its History, Agriculture, Flora, Fauna, and Ethnography*, with map and illustrations, by R. C. F. MAUGHAM, H.B.M., Consul for Portuguese East Africa; author of "Portuguese East Africa," "A Handbook of Chi-Makua," and other writings. "Zambezia" purports to be a general description of the Zambezi River, from the affluent

Aroangwa to its delta. This includes the various divisions of history, agriculture, flora, fauna, and ethnography; and, contrary to his own misgivings, Mr. Maugham has, on the whole, succeeded admirably in conveying to his readers a very adequate and reasonable impression of this great and splendid region. So little is known of it—as indeed of Central Africa in general—that it so much the more enhances the debt we owe the author for placing all he knows of it at our disposal. What is very noticeable all throughout this work is the real sympathy of Mr. Maugham for his subject. This is especially so with regard to the nature, character, and future of the natives, and adds immensely to the value of it.

With all our vaunted culture and civilization, it is so rare even nowadays for the European to criticize Africans in an unbiassed and even-minded manner. The view taken of them, whether it be by the administrator, the soldier, the missionary, the merchant, or the traveller, is of necessity prejudiced and coloured by the particular bias of the profession represented, and especially by racial feelings and prejudices. But this is not the case with Mr. Maugham. In no sense a negrophile, he is not blind to the faults and weaknesses of the negro races. At the same time he sees and acknowledges their virtues. It is obvious to him that the black man does not understand the white. Equally so, that the white misunderstands the black. This it is that fundamentally explains the prevailing misconception and the deadlock on both sides. The problem, with its many ramifications—the slow, patient and plodding children of Nature on the one hand, and the rapid, impatient, quicker-witted products of civilization at high pressure on the other—is clear to him, as it is to the small minority, whose minds are open, and whose judgments are broad, deep, and even. Above all, he sees the unfortunate misdirection of missionary effects (a miseducation of the African that in the not so very distant future will be responsible for much evil, the foregoing shadows of which are already to be seen in

the United States of America), and has the courage to avow it frankly and openly.

With every confidence in the great possibilities and future of "Zambezia," as one who has made a thorough study of his subject, Mr. Maugham recognizes the very important part that the Bantu must take in its development; therefore the imperative necessity of a proper training and education for them. With this worthy object in view he makes a most earnest appeal on their behalf—an appeal that anyone who has the true interest of Africa and her peoples at heart will applaud to the echo. It is not the missionaries, but men of Mr. Maugham's discriminating intelligence and sympathy who will regenerate the negro. But, alas, for humanity! such men are rare birds even in the very strongholds of civilization. It is, indeed, a thousand pities that the author, instead of trying to compress into the limits of one volume material enough for several, did not confine his efforts entirely to a study of the natives. This, to our thinking, is the one great fault in the book. Excessive expansion implies lack of concentration. Interesting and instructive as are the flora and fauna of a country, they are, after all, but secondary in every sense to the study of its human population, no matter how low it may be in the scale of civilization. For, as Pope so wisely says: "The proper study of mankind is man."
—ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD.

5. *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, with an Account of the Mutiny of Ferozepore in 1857.* This is a very interesting account of personal experiences of the Mutiny at Ferozepore, and of the Siege and Capture of Delhi, told in a very plain and graphic manner, well worthy of perusal. Of course there is very little new matter in the story of the siege and capture to be found in the volume that has not been often before related by both the historian and others who took part in both, by whom all the incidents connected with it have not been more or less recounted and described.

It comes as yet another tribute of the devoted heroism

and indomitable pluck of a small and resolute band of heroes, who fought and conquered under every adverse circumstance and conditions, against enormous odds without the hope of help, to uphold the prestige of the British name and flag in the East.—W. G. C. J.

6. *The Master Singers of Japan*, being verse translations from the Japanese poets, by CLARA A. WALSH. The Wisdom of the East Series. Clara Walsh has contributed a dainty collection of Japanese poems to this series of Eastern subjects. We do not often come across translations of the Tanka and other poems presented in English in a collective form. The themes of the poets chiefly centre in the praise of Nature, or the stirring emotions and tender yearnings of the passions of loyalty and of love. Although this selection is well chosen, and much beautiful symbolism is perceptible to those who seek for its presence, subtle as the fragrance of incense, we cannot help regretting how powerless it is to express by means of our English language the unique and hidden sentiment of the Eastern mind. In fact, it is almost impossible to successfully render the heart-breathing of one people into the language of another, particularly of a people whom as yet we understand so imperfectly.—S.

PROBSTHAIN AND CO.; LONDON.

7. *Buddhism as a Religion*, by H. HACKMANN. From the German. The objection which the author raises against all works on Buddhism hitherto published is that they are more or less restricted to local forms of it, the consequence being that they are too limited in their purview. He proposes to view the system as a whole, tracing its historical development in the various countries to which it has found its way, and showing how it came there: he aims (that is to say) at bringing the account of this far-extending religion up to date in all the lands in which it is still in vogue. In about 300 pages small octavo, and in type clearly readable, the erudite author compasses his task. The work begins

with a good table of contents, and ends with the titles of 149 treatises, principally by European writers, on Buddhism in various aspects, and an index (not a very good one, by the way,) brings up the rear.

That the Buddha died of a surfeit of boiled pork is a fact with which all students of the subject are familiar, and the admission of it does credit to the moral courage of the author; for the flesh of the hog is a kind of food held in abhorrence by all Indians, and forbidden, not to Jews and Muhammadans only, but also to Hindús—the race of people from whom the Buddha sprang; and there is the additional consideration that the abstention from all animal food whatsoever was one of the principal doctrines proclaimed and enjoined by him, infringing, as the practice of flesh-eating does, the sacredness of animal life. The statements here made regarding the disposal of the remains of the deceased Buddha (as to their having been cremated at Kushinagara) appears to reduce to the character of “a mare’s nest” the find announced some two years ago from the extreme north-west of the Panjáb. The place, he tells us, where the incinerated remains were interred was opened as lately as 1898, “the old remains having been left entirely untouched.” As to how it happened that the incinerated bones came to be discovered many hundreds of miles away (as the recent re-interment of them in the golden casket attests), the burden of proof rests not with us.

Reasons of space forbid our embarking on a general review of the great subject of which the author treats. His statement, however, on p. 7, that the tenets of a religion are of greater importance than the “life” lived by its founder, is one with which *all* his readers will not very readily be in accord with him; anyhow, some qualifying clause might have been embodied in the statement. Again, the untravelled reader needs to be put on his guard in the matter of pronunciation of Oriental nomenclature. For example, the indispensable name “Sákya” begins, not as the author directs, with the initial sound of the French

jour. The original letter at the beginning of this name-form is a *Tálavya*, and has no other sound than that of the sibilant in our own adjective "sharp." The French sound he indicates does not exist in Sanskrit, nor would any Indian be able even to recognize the name if anyone were to sound it as the author directs. The family name of Gautama Buddha is sounded "Shákya," whence the Buddha is very commonly known by the epithet "Shákya-muni" (Shákya the saint-sage), to distinguish him from all the other Shákyas. The occurrence of "as" in the middle of p. 4, and of "96" instead of 97 on p. 100, are instances of oversight in the proof-correcting, while the existence of mistakes of grammar is shown by the occurrence of "has" for "had" in the middle of p. 35; and this is but one out of a considerable number of such slips that might be mentioned. In all places in which he should have written "besides," the author has "beside"—a quite common error among English people, and readily pardonable in a foreigner, yet it is a blemish in what is otherwise a really scholarly production. If a future edition were to be entrusted to some England-born scholar, the removal of such blemishes would be an improvement in what is in truth a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history and many-sided phases and developments of Buddhism. But a truce to criticism: though not a big book, it is a *great* one, and marks a distinct advance on all previous works on the subject; it will be found enlightening and helpful as well to the general reader as to students and specialists. The pervading idea of the book, as a whole, is that the unalloyed Buddhism as propagated by the founder six and twenty centuries ago has been found impracticable and insufficient. There has for many centuries past been a distinct departure from the primal type, and a tendency to absorb all kinds of idolatry—the idolatry peculiar to the several countries to which the doctrines of the Buddha have extended—so that the Buddhism of the present day is but the veriest mixture of idolatry, demon-

worship, ancestor-worship—all, in fact, which the Buddha disallowed. It is, in short, no more the original Buddhism than the modern Mexican is an Aztec.—B.

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS, LIMITED; LONDON.

E. P. DUTTON AND CO., 1910; NEW YORK.

8. *Labour in Portuguese West Africa*, second edition with an added chapter, by WILLIAM A. CADBURY. This little book is a record of the visits paid to Angola, S. Thomé, and Príncipe, by Messrs. William A. Cadbury and Joseph Burt, the sole object of which was to obtain first-hand information as to the labour conditions on the cocoa estates in the above-mentioned Portuguese colonies. This was done in an open and above-board manner, and with the full concurrence and sanction of the authorities in Lisbon. As the local authorities, however, evidently resented, courteously no doubt, what to them was an intrusive and uncalled-for Commission of Inquiry, the result of the visit is not altogether either complete or satisfactory. But notwithstanding this, it is quite obvious that the Angola native has up to very recently never been repatriated, and his condition is that of a slave. To suggest, however, that Portugal has fallen from her high estate is in no sense correct. Portugal has always been in favour of slavery. The Portuguese have always taken a lower view of human progress than the Anglo-Saxon. It is this that has left him where he now is. He has yet to rise; but whether he will do so or not is quite another problem.

ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Wisdom of the East. The Burden of Isis; being the Laments of Isis and Nephthys. Translated from the Egyptian with an Introduction by James Teackle Dennis. (London: John Murray.) The worship of Osiris, Isis, and Horus is the oldest and one of the most venerable of Egyptian religious beliefs. These three local gods at an early period became prominent deities of all Egypt, and the cult of Isis, more particularly, remained a favourite always, rivalling even that of Osiris in later times. In the Introduction the author gives the legends and origin of this cult.

Travel and Exploration (London: Witherby and Co.). With the publication of the January number, this magazine entered into its second year of publication. We find from time to time many articles of great interest from the pens of eminent explorers and writers on topics of recent discoveries and explorations in the generally unknown parts of the globe. In the January number there are Dr. W. Hunter's description of his explorations in the Nun Kun range of the Himalayas, and an account by Mr. C. N. Williamson of the popular motor run from Paris to the Riviera. A picturesque district of Upper India—the Khasia Hills—is well described by Mr. Leo Faulkner. In the February issue there is an able article by Lord Ronaldshay on some aspects of the East, "The Call to the East," and Sir Harry Johnstone gives some valuable expert advice on tropical outfit. Each number is profusely illustrated with well-executed illustrations from photographs.

The Indian National Congress. Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., publishers, Madras, have sent us a bulky volume under the title "The Indian National Congress." It contains an account of its origin and growth; full text of all the Presidential addresses delivered hitherto; reprint of all the Congress resolutions; extracts from the welcome addresses delivered at all the Congresses; and several notable utter-

ances on the Congress Movement by men like the late Charles Bradlaugh, Robert Knight, Sir William Hunter, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Sir Richard Garth, Lord Cromer, Sir Charles Dilke, and others. An attractive feature of the book is a collection of the portraits of all the Congress presidents. The volume, which contains over 1,100 pages, is the first of its kind, and brings under one cover all the authoritative pronouncements on the Congress Movement, and the subjects dealt with by that body. The book should be welcome at the present time in view of the controversy between the Conventionists and non-Conventionists. London agents: Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London.

The India Office List for 1910, compiled from Official Records by direction of the Secretary of State for India in Council. (London: Harrison and Sons, 45, Pall Mall.) This admirably compiled work has appeared earlier than usual. It contains a vast amount of information connected with India and officials, civil and military. In the lists of officers serving in India, only substantive appointments are as a rule, shown. The names of the members of the enlarged legislative councils have been given as fully as possible, and in the case of the Governor-General's Council further particulars have been added.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*United Empire* (The Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*; *The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the*

Anglo-Russian Literary Society (founded in 1893), February, March and April, 1910 (The Imperial Institute, London S.W.); — *The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto); — *The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and London); — *Concerning Hunan and Changsha*: The scene of the recent riots, by Marshall Broomhall, B.A. (China Inland Mission, London); — *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1909; — *Report of the United States National Museum* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909); — *Essays on Indian Art: Industry and Education*, by E. B. Havell (Natesan and Co., Madras); — *New Indian Tales*, by C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L. (Natesan and Co., Madras); — *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, compiled by E. H. Aitken (printed for Government at the "Mercantile" Steam Press, Karachi), 1907; — *Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1908-1909* (Bombay: Government Central Press); — *Archæology: Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the Year ending March 31, 1909* (Government of Bombay: General Department); — *The Reports on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the Year 1908-1909* (Bombay: Government Central Press); — *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1908-1909* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1909); — *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Dutch Records*: No. 7, "Memoir of the Departing Commander Cornelius Breekpot"; No. 8, "Diary kept during the Expedition against the Zamorin, from December 4, 1716 to April 25, 1717" (Madras: Government Press, 1910); *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. xxxv.; — *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah, near Agra* described and illustrated by Edmund W. Smith, M.R.A.S. (Allahabad: Superintendent Government Press, United Provinces).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *The English Factories in India*, 1630-1633, by William Foster (Oxford : at the Clarendon Press) ;—*Crusaders of the Twentieth Century*, by Rev. W. A. Rice, M.A. (Church Missionary Society) ;—*Studies of Indian Life and Settlement*, by Sir Bampfylde Fuller (London : John Murray) ;—*Mysticism in Heathendom and Christendom*, by Dr. E. Lehman ; translated by G. M. G. Hunt (London : Luzac and Co.) ;—*Education and Citizenship in India*, by Leonard Alston (London : Longmans, Green and Co.) ;—*A Geography of India : Physical, Political, and Commercial*, by George Patterson (London : The Christian Literature Society for India).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—The death of King Edward VII. on May 6, 1910, at Buckingham Palace, has evoked universal sympathy and condolence throughout the world. The following expressions, among many others, indicate the feeling in all parts of the Indian Empire :

"From the Viceroy to the Secretary of State, May 8, 1910.

"Government of India have heard with the deepest sorrow of the sudden death of His Majesty the King, Emperor of India. The expression of grief is universal. Messages of sympathy are pouring in from all quarters. The Princes and people of all races and creeds unite with the Government in lamenting the death of a beloved and revered Sovereign, of whose abiding affection for India they have received many tokens, and whose visit to them in years gone by has not been forgotten. On behalf of all classes, we beg of you to convey to His Majesty the King, Emperor of India, this expression of heartfelt sorrow, and to offer him our respectful homage on his accession to the Throne of the British Empire."

"From the Secretary of State to the Viceroy, May 10, 1910.

"I am commanded by the King-Emperor to transmit to your Excellency the following answer, which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to make to the address communicated to me by your Excellency for submission to His Majesty on behalf of the Government and the Princes and Peoples of India :

"I have received with profound appreciation the expression of sympathy and loyalty conveyed in your Excellency's message from the Princes and Peoples of all races and creeds in my Indian Empire on the occasion of the death of my dearly-loved Father, the King-Emperor.

I am deeply touched by this expression of their universal sorrow for his death. He always remembered with affection his visit to India, and its welfare was ever in his thoughts. From my own experience I know the profound loyalty felt for my Throne by the Princes and People of India, to whom I desire that my acknowledgments of the homage they have tendered to me on my Accession may be made known. The prosperity and happiness of my Indian Empire will always be to me of the highest interest and concern, as they were to the late King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress before him."

King George the Fifth was proclaimed in London on May 9 and throughout the country. He was also proclaimed in India on May 12 at Simla, where the ceremony was attended by Lord Minto and Sir Louis Dane, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and General Sir O'Moore Creagh, Commander-in-Chief in India.

The day of the King's funeral was observed throughout India as a day of mourning.

The body of the King was conveyed from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Hall, where it lay in State for three days, at which many thousands of people paid their last respects to their beloved Sovereign. The funeral took place on Friday, May 20, from Westminster Hall through the principal streets in London to Paddington railway station. The whole route was lined with representatives of the army and navy and many millions of His Majesty's subjects. From Paddington His Majesty's body was conveyed to Windsor by train, where he was laid to rest in St. George's Chapel. India was well represented in the cortège.

On May 24 His Majesty the King sent the following message to the Princes and Peoples of India :

"The lamented and unlooked-for death of my dearly-loved Father calls me to ascend the Throne that comes to me as the heir of a great and ancient line.

"As King and Emperor I greet the Princes, the Ruling Chiefs, and all the other dwellers in my Indian dominions. I offer you my heartfelt thanks for the touching and abundant manifestation that this event has called forth from all the diverse races, classes and faiths in India, of loyalty to the Sovereign Crown, and personal attachment to its wearers.

"Queen Victoria, of revered memory, addressed her Indian subjects and heads of Feudatory States when she assumed the direct government in 1858; and her august son, my Father, of honoured and beloved name, commemorated the same most notable event in His Address to you fifty years later. These are the charters of the noble and benignant spirit of Imperial rule, and by that spirit in all my time to come I will faithfully abide.

"By the wish of His late Majesty, and following His own example, I visited India five years ago, accompanied by my Royal Consort. We became personally acquainted with great kingdoms known to history, with monuments of a civilization older than our own, with ancient customs and ways of life, with native rulers, with the peoples, the cities, towns, villages, throughout those vast territories.

"Never can either the vivid impressions or the affectionate associations of that wonderful journey vanish or grow dim.

"Firmly I confide in your dutiful and active co-operation in the high and arduous tasks that lie before me, and I count upon your ready response to the earnest sympathy with the well-being of India, that must ever be the inspiration of my rule.

"GEORGE R.I."

The Maharaja of Darbhanga has made an offer to the Viceroy to provide a large equestrian statue of King Edward, to be erected on the Calcutta Maidan.

Lord Minto made his farewell speech at a meeting of the Legislative Council at Calcutta on March 30, in which he said: "Now, gentlemen, as this is the last time I shall preside over the full Council, I would ask you to bear in mind that for some time there must be much that is experimental in our recent reforms. It rests with you to consolidate the work which has been done, to prove yourselves worthy of the interests you represent, and to safeguard the moderation and good sense of the Council of which you are members. It is to you that the Executive Government will look for expression of unofficial opinion, and on your loyal support they should be able to rely. I am grateful for the appreciative words in which members have alluded to my services. I hope that the labours of my colleagues and myself will bear good fruit. I know that this Council is very capable of safeguarding the great responsibilities entrusted to it, and I shall leave the country in the firm belief that it is destined to play a distinguished part in the future history of India."

Lord Minto paid a visit to Kurram in April, where he received a most enthusiastic welcome by a great gathering of Turis, who greeted him as the first Viceroy ever to visit Kurram. He addressed a large Jirga representing all tribes of the neighbourhood, and announced several concessions, and expressed his gratitude at the warmth of the welcome offered to him and the cordiality of the feeling shown.

The trial of Mr. Jackson's murderer and those implicated therein finished on March 29, when Kanhere, the actual assassin, was sentenced to death. Karve, the leader in the murder conspiracy, and Deshpande, who with Karve accompanied Kanhere to the theatre where the murder was committed, were also sentenced to death. Other active members of the secret society which planned the murder were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Those sentenced to death were executed on April 19, and their bodies burned.

The proposal of amalgamating the Public Works Depart-

ment Accounts Department with the enrolled list of the Finance Department has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and also the appointment of an Accountant-General for railway accounts.

The total gross Indian sea and land customs revenue (excluding salt revenue) for the official year 1909-10, which closed at the end of March, was 5·89 crores of rupees, against 5·98 crores in 1908-9, and 6·03 crores in 1907-8. The falling off is due to indifferent trade. The excise duty on cotton goods manufactured in India amounted to 40·05 lacs of rupees, against 81·81 lacs in the previous year.

The Right Hon. Sir Charles Hardinge, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., I.S.O., Permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has been appointed Viceroy and Governor-General of India, in succession to the Earl of Minto, who retires in November next.

On the occasion of the King's birthday, June 2, the following appointments, among others, were made:

To be Honorary Aides-de-Camp to His Majesty.—Honorary Major-General His Highness Sir Madho Rao Scindia, Bahadur, Maharaja of Gwalior, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O.; Honorary Major-General His Highness Sir Pratap Singh, Bahadur, Maharaja of Idar, G.C.S.I., K.C.B.; Honorary Colonel His Highness Sir Nripendra Narayan, Bahadur, Maharaja of Kuch Behar, G.C.I.E., C.B.; Honorary Colonel Sir Muhammad Aslam Khan, Nawab, Sardar Bahadur, K.C.I.E.; Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel His Highness Sir Ganga Singh, Bahadur, Maharaja of Bikaner, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., and to be granted the honorary rank of Colonel; Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel His Highness Sir Muhammad Hamid Ali Khan, Bahadur, Nawab of Rampore, G.C.I.E., and to be granted the honorary rank of Colonel.

Order of the Bath.—The King has been graciously pleased to give orders for the following promotions in and appointments to the Most Honourable Order of the Bath: G.C.B.: General the Right Hon. Sir Dighton Mac-

naghten Probyn, V.C., G.C.B. (Civil), G.C.V.O., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., I.S.O., Indian Army.

K.C.B.: Colonel Sir Arthur Davidson, K.C.V.O., C.B.; Sir Francis Henry Laking, Bart., G.C.V.O., M.D.

C.B.: Commander Sir Charles Leopold Cust, Bart., C.M.G., C.I.E., M.V.O., R.N.

Sir Harvey Adamson has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, in succession to Sir Herbert Thirkell White; and Mr. J. L. Jenkins, of the Indian Civil Service, has become a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India, in succession to Sir Harvey Adamson.

The Rev. C. H. Westcott, Canon of Lucknow, has been appointed Bishop of Lucknow, in succession to the Right Rev. Dr. A. Clifford, who is retiring.

Mr. Norman Cranstoun Macleod, barrister-at-law, has been made a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Bombay.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—There has been raiding at Pahari Khel, near Bannu, on March 11, followed by other raids in April. Several men lost their lives. This appears to be the opening of a restless summer among the tribesmen of the Waziristan section of the North-West Frontier of India. The raiders are Khootivals, and the gang got away with a Hindu Bunia, or merchant, whom they held up to ransom. The cause of most of the trouble upon this point of the border is the Mullah Powindah, whose name has been well to the fore ever since the Mahsud blockade in 1900-1902, his connection with the All Pahari Khel incident having been proved. He has endeavoured to obtain the British Government's recognition as a "Malik," or chief, and to discuss matters with a British Representative in a Jirgah. The man has little or no influence, and is so detested by his people that he goes in constant fear of his life. The Government have taken action to prevent this continual raiding, and have armed the neighbouring natives with rifles and ammunition, and thus given them the means by which to defend themselves against raids by Mahsuds. The Govern-

ment have also forbidden the Mahsuds from entering British territory. This is enforced by giving anyone who can catch a Mahsud from ten to forty rupees reward.

On May 1 a gang of Mahsuds succeeded in capturing close on a hundred camels at a spot near Zarmelan, in the Gumal. The raiders were pursued, but got clear away for the time being; but a party of militiamen, however, subsequently came up with the raiders, and a sharp fight ensued, in which the Mahsuds lost one man killed and many wounded.

The Joint Indo-Afghan Commission, which is to settle tribal disputes arising out of raids and counter-raids on each side of the British-Afghan border, is about to start its work. The Commission is to be a peripatetic one, and will work its way down the border from Kurram. The Commission will experience difficulty in deciding claims and apportioning the compensation to the injured parties, but apart from this, no other trouble is anticipated.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Ameer of Afghanistan has conveyed to King George the expression of his deep grief at the death of King Edward. His Majesty has sent a message in reply, thanking the Ameer for his sympathy.

CEYLON.—V. A. Julius has been appointed to a general European seat in the Legislative Council, in the place of the Hon. J. N. Campbell, resigned.

PERSIA.—Mauvin-ed-Dowleh, who since 1908 has been Minister in Rome, has been appointed to succeed Ala-es-Sultanah as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

A deputy of the Kasghai tribe has communicated to the Regent, the Premier, the Mejliss, and the newspapers, the terms of an agreement concluded between Sowlet-ed-Dowleh, the chief of the Kashghais, the Sheikh of Mohammerab, and Sardar Ashref, Vali of Pushtikuh in Luristan. The objects of the agreement are set forth in six articles. These relate principally to the maintenance of the Constitution and the preservation of order on the trade routes in the respective territories of the three signatories to the agree-

ment. The document further intimates that the adherence of other chiefs and notables would be welcomed. The object of this alliance, which appears to be of a defensive character, may be sought in the anxiety of the three chiefs, especially Sowlet-ed-Dowleh, to counterbalance the preponderating position of the Bakhtiari, which has been acquired through the prominence of Sordar Assad in the Councils of the Government.

Darab Mirza, lately an officer in the Russian service, has roused a standard of revolt against the Persian Government, and is recruiting an army for the deposed Shah. He has attacked the town of Zinjan, in the province of Khamsch.

PERSIAN GULF.—His Majesty's cruiser *Philomel*, which is patrolling the Mekran coast, captured on April 24 a dhow having on board 2,000 firearms and 250,000 rounds of ammunition; and His Majesty's ship *Perseus* on May 25 captured a dhow, also with 2,000 arms and 250,000 rounds of ammunition.

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.—Wardani, the murderer of Boutros Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, after a trial at Cairo, has been sentenced to death.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.—The Sultan of Tringganu visited Singapore and signed a treaty, together with the Governor. Tringganu agrees to the appointment of a British Agent, and to restrictions upon the alienation of land for mining and planting. The treaty also provides for the mutual surrender of fugitives, and the British Protectorate is clearly defined.

CHINA.—During the quarter rioting has occurred in Hunan, and has become general and serious. News from different quarters report the burning of several villages. Yiyang mobs burned over a hundred houses there; the officials fled, and the town was left at the mercy of the rioters.

SOUTH AFRICA.—By Letters Patent dated December 29, 1909, the office of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Union of South Africa has been constituted,

and the Right Hon. Viscount Gladstone, P.C., has been appointed to fill the post. He, with Lady Gladstone, arrived at Cape Town on May 17, where they stayed for ten days as the guests of Major-General Scobell, the Administrator. Lord Gladstone was sworn in as High Commissioner at Cape Town on May 19.

General Botha has been appointed Premier, and has formed a Cabinet, as follows: General Botha, Premier and Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Smuts, Minister of the Interior, including Mines and Defence; Mr. Sauer, Minister of Railways; General Hertzog, Minister of Justice; Mr. Malan, Minister of Education; Mr. Hull, Minister of Finance; Mr. Fischer, Minister of Lands; Mr. Burton, Minister for Native Affairs; Mr. Moor, Minister of Commerce and Industries; Mr. Graaff, Minister of Public Works and Posts and Telegraphs; Dr. Gubbins, Minister without portfolio.

The following administrators under the Union have been made: Mr. Johann Rissik, Transvaal; Dr. Ramsbottom, Orange Free State; Mr. J. Smythe, Natal; and Sir Richard Solomon has been made Union High Commissioner in London.

Sir J. H. de Villiers has been appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of South Africa, and is made a Baron of the United Kingdom.

At the first meeting of the Union Cabinet on June 1 at Pretoria, it was decided to release Dinizulu, who will be given a farm near Nylstroom, on which he will live with his wives and personal attendants, and enjoy reasonable liberty on an allowance of £500 per annum, subject to good behaviour.

General Botha, on behalf of the Union Government, has accepted Mr. Solly Joel's gift of Barnato Park, of 11½ acres, with buildings, which will be used as a girls' school.

Lord Selborne and his family left Cape Town for England on May 18, and arrived at Southampton on June 4.

SOMALILAND.—News was received in April that the Mullah had slaughtered 800 friendly natives belonging to the Dolbohanti tribe, at Obergoli Bohal. The Dolbohanti first repulsed the Mullah, killing 100 of his followers. In the second attack, their ammunition being exhausted, they were cut up, some fleeing towards the coast. The Mullah captured 12,000 camels and cattle.

WEST COAST AND NIGERIA.—Sir Hesketh Bell, the new Governor of Northern Nigeria, arrived in Kano on March 9, amid welcomes by the Emir and a vast concourse of horsemen. The Ennis of Katsena, Hadeija, Katagum, and other principal chiefs, many of whom had come several hundreds of miles to pay their respects to the Sovereign's representative, were also present. The gathering together of all these chiefs was an unprecedented event, and they all gave assurances of loyalty and faithful service. Railway construction is making rapid progress in Northern Nigeria. During the present year over 100 miles of rails have been laid in the direction of Kano. The Baro-Kano line has reached the spot from which the proposed branch to Bauchi is to be made. Zinguru, the capital of the Protectorate, will shortly be reached from Baro, and by the end of the year there will be a complete circle railway communication from Lagos, via Jebba, across the Niger to Baro.

AUSTRALIA: COMMONWEALTH.—The general elections took place throughout Australia on April 14, and resulted in the following members being returned: Labour 44, Fusion 29, Independent Liberals 2. A new Ministry was formed, with Mr. Fisher as Prime Minister. This Cabinet resigned, and another was formed, with Mr. Verran as Prime Minister. An appeal, supported by the Commonwealth Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition, has been made for financial support for the Countess of Dudley's Bush nursing scheme, as a memorial to King Edward.

NEW ZEALAND.—Sir John Poynder Dickson-Poynder, Bart, D.S.O., has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Dominion of New Zealand, in succession to

Lord Plunkett, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., and has been created a Baron of the United Kingdom (Lord Islington).

CANADA.—The Swan River district of Manitoba was devastated by a disastrous fire, which swept over thirty miles of territory, destroying a lumber camp, several mills, and a village. The loss is estimated at several millions of dollars.

The trade returns for the fiscal year show an increase of 20 per cent. over the previous year, and total £133,400,000.

Mr. Brodeur has become Minister of the Navy, in addition to his present office of Minister of Marine.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Major-General E. L. England (Indian Mutiny, South Africa 1878-79); —Colonel J. W. Hogge, of the Indian Army (Afghan war 1878, Hazara expedition 1888, Waziristan expedition 1894-95, North-West Frontier 1897-98); —Colonel H. Ringwood (Afghan war 1878-80); —William Leatham Harvey, C.I.E.; —Lieutenant-Colonel William H. Snell, of the Indian Army; —Rev. James Sheldon, of the Church Missionary Society of India; —His Highness Nawab Mahomed Sher Khan Bahadur, Chief of the Kathiawar State of Radhanpore; —Sir Charles George Hillersden Allen, Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government; —Major-General Victor Edward Law, late of the Indian Army; —Major-General E. S. Brook (Zulu campaign 1879, Transvaal); —Colonel P. Gibant (Indian Mutiny); —Lieutenant S. F. Fremantle, 2nd Goorkhas; —Rev. Henry Charles Squires, late of India; —Donald Mackenzie Smeaton, late of the Indian Civil Service; —Colonel Alexander Murray, Ceylon Civil Service; became Colonial Engineer and Surveyor-General of the Straits Settlements, and since 1898 had been a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils; —Colonel D. A. Eäby (Punjab campaign 1848-49); —Lieutenant-Colonel Sparkes, late of the R.A.M.C. (Sikkim expedition 1888, South Africa); —Major C. W. H. Symonds, of the Survey Department of India; —General Sir William P. Wright, K.C.B.; —Major-General A. F. Hart-Synnot (Ashantee war 1873, Zulu war 1879, Boer war 1880, Egyptian war 1882, Boer war 1899-1902); —Colonel William Alexander Bathne, Indian Army (North-West Frontier, Burma, and Persian campaigns); —Colonel H. P. King-Salter (North-West Frontier 1897-98); —Colonel T. S. Weir, I.M.S.; —Stanley Steuart Clarke, late of Bombay; —Rev. William Clarke, M.A., formerly H.M. Chaplain Bombay Ecclesiastical Establishment; —Walter George Harrison, late of the Bombay Revenue Survey; —Kenneth Mackenzie Cameron, Major R.A.M.C., late Staff-Surgeon Army Headquarters, India; —General A. R. Clephane, late Indian Army (Crimea);

—Major-General Henry Shewell (retired), Indian Army;—Major J. F. A. McNair, C.M.G., R.A. (retired);—Henry Mirchin Chase, late Bengal Civil Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel John Tulloch Whish, late Bengal Staff Corps;—John Baboneau Nickterlieu Hennessey, C.I.E., M.A., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S., late Deputy-Superintendent Survey of India;—Colonel Charles Theophilus Metcalfe Higginson, late of the 2nd Bengal Lancers;—Major-General Hugh Gordon Thomson, late Madras Staff Corps and Mysore Commission;—Major-General William Cornell, late of the Erinpura Irregular Force, and late Political Agent at Sivohi, Rajputana;—Henry Julius Boas, Indian Civil Service;—Admiral David Robertson-Macdonald, Deputy Inspector-General of Fleets and Hospitals;—A. Cooper (Chinese expedition 1857-59, North China 1860, Egyptian war 1882);—Major-General G. J. Pasley, East Indian Army (Sonthal campaign 1855);—Captain Claude Champion de Crespigny, D.S.O. (South Africa, Aide-de-Camp to the Viceroy of India, 1900-02);—Admiral Sir William Garnham Luard (China war, 1840-42, Burmese campaign);—Major A. C. H. Thomas (Afghan war 1878);—Colonel John Brine, late 4th Madras Native Infantry;—John Murray, Brigade-Surgeon, late H.M. Madras Army;—John William Cockburne, late R.G.A. (Boer War);—Harry James Sparks, late Bengal Civil Service;—Henry Wilkins Clift, P.W.D., India;—General William Charles Robert Mylne, Indian Army (Indian Mutiny campaign, Afghan war 1878);—Major-General William Francis Vetch, C.V.O., late Madras Fusiliers;—Colonel B. Fischer, late Madras Staff Corps;—Major G. W. B. Collis (Hazara campaign, 1868);—Major T. L. Trethewy (Katchin Hills in Burma 1892-93, North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Captain James David Stirling, D.S.O. (Central Relief Force, North-West Frontier);—Frederick Augustus Hugh Elliot, C.I.E.;—Lieutenant-General T. W. Stansfeld, late of the Indian Staff Corps;—Major William Sebastian Eardley-Howard, Indian Staff Corps (Hazar expedition 1888, Tirah 1897);—Colonel T. M. Ward, late of the Indian Army.

June 15, 1910.

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1910.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.

BY R. E. FORREST.

PART III.

THE past and present done with, we have next to consider the future, more especially in connection with Mr. Spring's paper, which has led to these present writings. We have put together some extracts from that paper, the order in which they are presented being our own :

1. " In the adequate extension of indigenous industrialism by the aid of indigenous capital and under indigenous control and management lies the only hope of an appreciable enhancement of India's wealth, and of an improvement in the material comfort and prosperity of the mass of her people."

2. " But there can be no extension of industrialism on modern lines . . . until the upper classes, and more particularly those of them who have had an English education, begin to apply themselves to the practical handling of practical things."

3. " Our Educational Department has preferred to press on their notice the works of Shakespeare and of Mill instead of those of our modern scientists; as if India had

not, for long and dreary ages, had a surfeit of poetry and philosophy. Education in India must change its character radically if ever it is going to help the educated classes to guide, direct, and govern the labour of future mills and factories, as in the Western world they are directed by the better educated.

"My contention is that for people like the natives of India, whose thoughts have run for thousands of years on two-dimensional lines, a two-dimensional education is an education which fails in one of the elements most vital to the needs of the country, and that it is necessary that the minds of a far larger proportion of students than have that advantage at present should be educated on three-dimensional lines."

4. "By the term 'two-dimensional education' I mean education . . . by eye and ear, by writing, or 'by the voice of the teacher.' . . . By 'three-dimensional education' I mean the above, aided by the sense of touch, ideas being conveyed to the mind of the learner by the practical handling, shaping, breaking, analyzing, and measuring of materials. The man educated on three-dimensional principles thinks in the solid and in the concrete. He thinks of actual THINGS and of their qualities, instead of merely of WORDS, whether voiced, printed, or written."

5. "It must be a revelation to those who have not studied the subject to find how England, Germany, America, and other up-to-date countries, have supplied themselves with schools and colleges, magnificently equipped, so that men of the wealthy and educated class may learn such practical science as, later, may help them to control factories, transportation, and industries generally. We can scarcely say that in India we have even the germs of any such thing, and it is a fact that what little we have of it is not to any adequate extent availed of by the classes whom we might expect to see interested in the direction and guidance of masses of skilled but uneducated working folks. Indeed, we may well ask: What measurable in-

fluence can Sibpur, Rurki, Madras, and Poona Colleges, and a few more minor places of practical education, have on the industrial development of a population ten times that of England?"

6. "At present such colleges cannot turn out more than enough men for the requirements of the Public Works Department. But, instead of a dozen of such colleges all over India, there ought to be a hundred, and there ought to be not less than a thousand high schools, so equipped that a boy with manual industrial instincts shall have at least a chance of ascertaining that he has such instincts, and that it is his ardent desire to pass on to one of the higher technical colleges, as the average European or American boy finds it so easy to do if he feels that way."

7. "The average young Indian of the literate class—say, the son of a vakil, tehsildar, or office-writer—has a vague idea that all that sort of thing is the business of persons in a lower walk of life, illiterate, half naked, and despised by him and his kind. Such being the case, how are we to expect the wealthy men of a community to combine and put their money into industrial enterprise, other than agriculture, when they are aware that the young men of their own class are in a state of complete ignorance of anything of the sort, and that how easy soever it may be to get together a score, or a hundred, or many hundreds, of clever artisans, it is practically impossible to find young men, of their own race and of the educated class, fit to handle and to supervise such labour when collected?"

8. "I have already said that the new education, if adopted, will demand a heavy burden of taxation. But we are incapable of drawing wise conclusions from reliable premises if we fail to see that any such outlay cannot but be repaid in the few years that are spanned by the life of a generation of men."

With the constant reference to the advance of Germany in manufactures and commerce, and the attribution of it to

technical education, is combined reproach of England for her supineness with regard to the provision of such education, exhortations to her to extend and improve it. There is no doubt that once in England the scientific or technical education advocated by some was not cared for either by those who were to be the teachers or by those who were to be the taught; by the educationists or by the craftsmen or artisans. Once the classics were the only things taught; they were the only things to be taught; they contained all the literature—all the available knowledge was embodied in them. And a system of teaching, once established, is like to continue for long, for the teachers must teach that which they were taught. At Oxford and Cambridge the classics were the founts of learning, of honour, and of emolument. With regard to technical or scientific education, the educationist said: That it was beneath the dignity of a University (not altogether a foolish argument, by the way); that it was beyond the ancient and proper limits of the education there; that education should be general, and not special, its object to train the mind and character so as to fit a man fully and completely for his life-work.

- The craftsman said that the crafts were to be learned only of the craftsman and by the practice of them. The best school was the workshop. They thought little of book-learning, more especially when the book-teacher himself was only book-taught and without practical experience. The same views prevailed then—say sixty years ago—with regard to our own profession—that of civil engineering. Anyone desirous of entering it had to go as pupil to someone practising it. So far as we remember, there was then no institution where engineering was specifically taught—a wholly different state of things from that prevailing now, when every University has its professor of the science, and there are special engineering schools and institutes besides. In those days Dublin College gave a gold medal in engineering, and there was a Chair of Engineering at the

Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow—that is all we can recall. In short, we think it is a fact that the Thomason College of Civil Engineering at Rurki—one of the three Indian ones mentioned in Extract 5 from Mr. Spring's paper—was the first of its kind in the British Empire. The Indian Government was first in this matter, as it was in that of State education altogether. Well, then, a parent desiring to send a son into the engineering profession, which had sprung into attractiveness with the new industrial development, would send him as pupil and helper to some working member of it. He would strive to get him under some eminent member, one who, having a large command of work, could put his men at once into contact with live work; it was different making the surveys, drawing the plans for a real dock or railway, than for imaginary ones. The premiums paid varied with the eminence, and sometimes were very high. It was said that the leading engineers were not in favour of institutions for the teaching of engineering, as this would diminish their own profits. No doubt the gain of money exerts a considerable influence on us all. But, on the other hand, there was no doubt that to the engineers, as to the craftsmen, the learning of a craft or industry or profession from one who practised it seemed the best, as it was the most ancient, way. The lamp of knowledge was passed on from hand to hand. In the business of the making of things the sooner you come in contact with the things and the making the better. It was in the English nature to set the practical above the theoretical. In France and in Holland—both countries eminent for engineering—the same was not the case then—fifty years ago, when we had personal knowledge in the matter: in them it was held that a sound and full theoretical knowledge should precede practice. In England the State College of Military Engineering was confined solely to that purpose; but in France and Holland the School of Military Engineering gave instruction to those who intended to enter the service of the State as civil

engineers and also to those who proposed to follow engineering as a private profession. Neither country has any reason to think little of its system. In military fortifications both have produced the foremost examples. The roads of France are famous; so is its system of internal navigation. Holland has been made by, and owes its continued existence to, its engineering works. There was, it was said, an artistic taste in the work of foreign engineers which was lacking in that of the Englishmen; but it was urged on behalf of the latter that if they had made many ugly railway-stations, they had made many railways—made the first line of railway in every country in Europe; made the thirty-five thousands of miles in India, with their climbing of the mountain sides, and their crossing of all the great rivers; taken a railway across the continent of America; run lines into the heart of Africa; built the greatest railway bridges. They had made great roads, great water-works, the largest canals, the greatest dams.

And so with regard to our industries. While the writer of a book before us—now twenty years old—spoke of “the inartistic character of our [English] craftsmanship generally,” he spoke also “of our unquestioned superiority in the mechanical arts, and in the development and organization of manufacturing processes on a large scale” in the making of “the common goods for the million.”

We gave the new industrial and commercial era being, provided the machinery for carrying it on. The motive power in it, that of steam, was brought into employ first in England. The spinning and weaving machines, the steam-hammer, the railway, the ocean-going steamers, were made first in England; so were the first submarine cables, by which was made the most striking display, perhaps, of the new power of man. The manufactures and commerce of England have grown now to a prodigious height. They surpass those of any other nation. Recent comparisons have shown that, even in the master arts of sculpture and painting, our products can stand display by the side of

those of any other nation, and they have shown also that our craftsmanship can face the same test in regard to its artistic character.

All this expansion and extension has meant increase in the stores of knowledge and information. There is more to be learnt. And recently there has been a great multiplication of the places of teaching. As stated above, there are now Chairs of Engineering and Science at every University and separate technical schools and colleges. In fact, it is even being stated that there are too many of them, and doubts are raised as to their need or value. There was a meeting of the heads of technical schools in London a year or two ago, at which the tone was not one of satisfaction at their working, but rather the reverse. It has been asserted that these technical schools have been built, like the Dreadnoughts, not with reference to absolute needs, but to the need of having more of them than the Germans. One reads of the failure of Agricultural Colleges. The English farmer still refuses to get scientific knowledge of his work. Farmers preceded the professors of agricultural chemistry by very many ages. At this very moment we are reading an article on the deleterious results of chemical manures. In the discussion on Mr. Spring's paper Sir Thomas Raleigh, the chairman, said: "We may in time be able to devise some form of apprenticeship which will complete the scheme of education by fitting the student for the work, whatever it is, that he means to make his living by. In teaching founded only on books you can take large classes without considering what their future careers are going to be. The moment you begin to speak of apprenticeship one must be differentiated from another, and different training must be provided for them. I believe that is possible, and I believe that, on the industrial side, there is a good deal of what you may call general industrial education which might be given to scholars with the greatest advantage. The best technical school I have ever seen was at Philadelphia,

in the United States. I found there twelve hundred boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen. They divided their time between the class-room and the workshop. No trade was taught in that building, but every boy was taught to work in wood and metal, and to use the ordinary tools and appliances for measuring, weighing, and testing the strength of materials. They all had that general knowledge imparted to them, and then they went out, not into one, but into fifty different industries in the United States. When I asked the Principal, 'Have you any difficulty in finding employment for your boys?' he said, 'I have a book, that is kept here, in which employers write down their applications for so many boys, and I always have about double as many applications as there are boys to send out.' That, to my mind, is the sort of industrial schools which ought to be provided for India."

Three or four years ago we ourselves visited in Germany a private pedagogium which had gained renown for combining literature, science, and handicraft. Its success was attested by the number of its students, its fine buildings, its well-equipped class-rooms, and library, and laboratory, and workshops. We came away with the impression that in literature and science, in the class-rooms and the laboratory (so thoroughly well furnished and fitted up) was excellent, real, solid, cared-for work; in the workshops, smith's and carpenter's and others, was play. We have never been in America, but here is what one who should be an authority says with regard to the combination of science with literature in the teaching of the schools there: "Professor Dewey, the Chairman of the American Association for the advancement of Science, takes a very gloomy view of the results obtained in the past few years, during which science has been awarded a prominent place in the curriculum of the American schools. He declares that all who are interested in securing that place for science are disappointed in the results, and that the

glowing predictions of a few years back have been abundantly falsified."

The latest regulations for admission to the Public Works Department in India give, as it were, a measure of the relative value set on scientific and on practical training by the framers. A candidate can appear with a University engineering degree and one year's practical experience under a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, or, if he has no such degree, he must have had three years of such practical experience.

We have said before that the words "objective" and 'subjective,' the outer things and the inner, ourselves, sum up the whole of our present phase of existence. The objects about us, which we divide into animal, vegetable, and mineral, and our relations towards them through the medium of our senses, our intellect, and our will, make up our life. First come observation, the touch by hand, through eye and ear and mouth; reflection; comparison; discrimination; remembrance; knowledge; action; science. Man learns the forms of things; their qualities; their tempers; their help or harm; their use to himself in regard of food, clothing, shelter. The primeval forest is his storehouse, the source of his subsistence. He learns the science of woodcraft. Science comes fast on knowledge. He came to observe, note, think about the circumstance which has proved of such great value to himself—the growth of the seed planted in the earth, its enormous multiplications: that full rich ear from one single seed. O kindly Earth! O Mother Earth! No wonder he worshipped her. His worship meant his hopes, his fears, his desires, his payment of thanks, his exaltation, his ecstasy. He learnt the science of agriculture. His fields were his experimenting ground. They were deeply interesting experiments, the wonder of them in themselves, their close connection with himself—the wheat, the barley, the sugarcane, the rice, the opium, the cotton. His cave, his various-materialled hut, his wigwam, his tent of cloth or felt, his

cottage with walls of mud or brick, his dwelling-place, his place of shelter, has also been his first workshop. In it he made use of his raw material, manufactured—used his lumps of wood and stone, his reeds and rushes, his animal and vegetable fibres, his skins and feathers. And he made very beautiful things, not only in the supreme case of the carpets produced from the tents of the nomad tribes of Central Asia, but as shown in robes made by men dwelling amidst the desolate snow-wastes of the North, or amidst the hot and humid regions, too fecund of vegetable and animal life, of mid-earth. In those widely-separated dwelling-places appeared the arts as well as the crafts. In them leapt and shone the wonderful element of fire, so early arousing the emotions that led to its being held Divine, to its being worshipped, made an adjunct of all worship. Why, it could melt iron! and how much followed from that! And by it was the food cooked, and what has not that cooking meant for man? What a power the cooking and eating of his food exercises over the life of the Hindu! By the agency of the fire a great variety of materials were transmuted into wholesome sustenance—into gold. What an enormously valuable science, cookery! What an amount of observation and research and knowledge and experience has gone to the making of the science! What a vast number of industries contribute to it! what a vast number of industries it subserves! There were a great number of other industries carried on in the dwelling-place—in the making of the weapons of the chase or war, of the implements needed for woodcraft, for such tillage as there was, for the making of clothing. In the home worked the distaff, the mother, or grandmother, or great-great-grandmother, the far-back ancestor and progenitor of the spinning-jenny, which twisted the soft fibre into strong thread, which was made into cloth, and the cloth into clothing. “Adam delved and Eve span.” And each industry was a craft, a science. Man has continually multiplied his sciences. There was a great deal of science in the proper constructing of a bow or

an arrow. Each family was a self-contained community, which supplied its own wants. And if the dwelling-place was a workshop, it was also a technical college. The father and mother were the teachers, and the children were the pupils. Home communities passed into village communities, into towns, into cities. In these the carpenter, and smith, and potter, and washerman appeared. Industries were specialized, and were carried on in special workshops. Industries began to run into separate organizations; they were governed by rules, held together by mystical rites and incantations. The separation between the two becomes so great in time that there arises talk of reconciliation between religion and science, but in the beginning religion is a science, an industry, looked to and valued for material benefits. It is so in India, which gives us such glimpses into the past, at this very day. The industries of the Hindus are closely connected with their religion, ruled by it. And so the dealers in glamour vaunt their spirituality. But the spiritual connected with them is as material as it can be. Trade and commerce began and grew. Industries multiplied, became more extensive. They were now taught by those practising them, not only to their own sons, but to pupils, to disciples, to apprentices. Then came the great craft, the noble art of penmanship, and information, knowledge, as well as delight, could be gained from the written page, from pictures and diagrams. The teaching from these became a highly honoured occupation—trade, industry, a hereditary occupation. Poetry, drama, legends, tales, fables, chronicles, histories, travels, biographies, mathematics, philosophy, ethics—all these found permanent record, a setting forth; there were the religious books, with all their mighty influence.

Our man has now come down from the beginning and concentration of industries to their great growth and diffusion. It is no longer necessary for him to make his own foot-covering and body-covering or do without them; he now uses the increase of his fields to purchase them from

the shoemaker and the tailor. Still in his house or home is plied the distaff, and the hand-mill whirls to grind the corn, and the pestle falls into the mortar to husk the rice; this by the hands of the woman partner, who also carries on the great work of keeping the house sweet and clean, and preparing the food, nourishing and taking care of the children, making their special little clothing. The man plies now only one industry—that of agriculture, we have supposed; all the made things and the grown things he does not grow he obtains from others. He is now one of a brotherhood, in Cabul or in Bengal, everywhere, in which each man makes exchange of the product of his labour for the products of the labours of the other men—of those nearer first, then of those farther off: there comes exchange of the special natural products, of things grown or made, between different parts of the same country, between different countries, different continents: the beneficent ring of commerce runs round the world. And as the industries increase in number and expand, as the work of growing, making, carrying grows larger, the sciences, too, multiply and expand—strengthen. The false sciences, of which there are so many in the earlier stages of man's history, dim. These are the names of some of the sciences which the men of greatest moral and mental capacity in the later and more advanced ages declare false: palmistry, witchcraft, magic, divination, astrology, alchemy. All these exist in India at this day, and exercise a greater or less influence; sometimes, as in the case of divination and astrology, a dominating one. These form a part of the family and social life of the people, of their moral and mental organization. Every Hindu lad of decent position has had his horoscope drawn, and it forms a most important document to him. In considering the teaching of the youth of India the extent to which they are imbued with false science is very germane to the matter.

Our man has passed from the individual to the communal life. He forms part of a tribe, a nation. The size of the

nation is determined by natural features. In the old days of isolation the character of the area within the boundaries, its soil, its natural productions, its climate, had an enormous influence—physical, moral, intellectual. Man is a part of his native soil, as the palm or the oak-tree are. He is likewise not as they—more than they, more than the bird and the beast. But the long insistence of the climate, its cumulative action, is a most powerful moulding and subduing force. Between the native power of man and his surroundings there arises a formed and fixed condition of things, a settled mode of thought and feeling and action in a nation, which subsists and continues by reason of the power which attaches to the existent and the old, to usage and custom. Fathers and mothers and the professional educator can teach only what they know, and what they deem the fulness of knowledge. Man makes institutions and falls in love with them. He constitutes an order and becomes a part of it. He makes rules, and is ruled by them, through fear as well as love. He frames systems, and they become to him Divine and immutable. Then, in the periods when oceans did divide and man did not walk the waves, a settled order of things could and did subsist, unchanged, unbroken, through long ages, more especially in the lands where the clime did not conduce to activity but to languor. And change is nowhere loved. It comes from without by the incursion, in force, of new men and new ideas. There take place outbursts of energy in the fields of literature, of religion, of industry, which send a pulsation, an upheaval, all around them, as does the eruption of a volcano under the sea. What an effect was produced in the world by the rise of the religion of Mahommed, by the rise of the new industrialism in England! How have they both moulded its history, which is the sole reason of our mentioning them together? Steam was a great new power of which man had obtained the command. It revolutionized transport. The invention of the spinning and weaving machines bore upon the supply of one of man's great wants—that of

clothing. And what brought about their invention? The having to meet the competition of the Indian textile fabrics, which were supplanting our local manufactures. And it was a better way of doing so than by means of self-denying, self-injuring *swadeshi* ordinances, or high tariffs, and it proved effectual. That industrial outburst has affected England profoundly, and will affect it more profoundly yet. Take the organization which concerns us here, and whose character plays so great a part in the moulding of a nation—we mean education. What a change has been made in our ancient University system! What an extension of the long-maintained curriculum, with its jealously guarded limits, fiercely maintained limits, as at the antique, majestic Universities of Cambridge and Oxford: an extension in the direction of scientific and technical teaching. Look at the scheme of teaching at the new Universities, with their faculties of arts, science, and engineering, economics, and political science. It would seem as if there was going to be a chair in connection with every industry. We read: "Arrangements have been made for the establishment of a professorship of coal, gas, and fuel industries at Leeds University." And we read a proposal for a chair of Domestic-work at another new University. Then, there are academies of painting, music, the drama, architecture; colleges of agriculture and horticulture, sociology, engineering, electric lighting; schools of building, engraving, art needlework, wood-carving, dental surgery, printing, cookery, nautical cookery. The list could be extended in each of the above three divisions; there is enormous provision for technical teaching; the number of institutes and polytechnics for that purpose is very great. The education authorities are issuing a note of warning with regard to the great excess in the supply of teachers.

In the discussion on Mr. Spring's paper, an Indian gentleman said candidly that the multiplication of technical schools would be advantageous in providing berths for the alumni of the Universities. But India's concern in the enormous extension of technical education in England lies

in the fact that it came after, and not before, the industrial expansion. It did not produce that expansion, but the expansion produced it. We would commend that fact, and what is said in the following extract, more especially in its last clause, to the special notice of the reader: "Most of the wonderful discoveries which have raised these manufactures—as the jenny, the mule, the carding-machine—owe their existence to the natural genius of uneducated men of the working-man class. Its progress and present results owe little to science, nothing to patronage, but all to the unaided efforts of natural genius and practical experience." And the great motive power in the production of these discoveries was the need and demand for them, as pointed out above. Science is rather expository than constructive: makes more for improvement than invention. Imagination plays a large part in it, but prevision of future mechanical agencies has come from poets as much as from men of science. Science has not soared on wings, but mounted up a ladder. Reading about the matter, one is surprised to see how wide apart the rungs of that ladder have been. How wide the interval between the first observation and even application, on a small scale, of the forces of steam and electricity and the employment of them now! The leviathans that now traverse the main have risen up out of the first dug-out, the cathedrals out of the first hut. What eye saw in the dug-out the steamer, in the hut the cathedral? Does the eye of the greatest man of science behold to-day any of those future great discoveries, the future great constructions, that we know are coming, being led up to?

We are not arguing against science or scientific teaching. We ourselves feel equally indebted to literary and scientific and technical teaching. The latter gave us our living, but we feel as great a debt of gratitude to it for its mental training. We quite agree with Mr. Spring—see Extract 5 above—as to the value of well-equipped colleges and schools for scientific and technical teaching; but we

wholly disagree with the proposal that they should be sown broadcast over the land (Extract 6), regardless of cost (Extract 8), are strongly opposed to it. We have had enough of the multiplication of places of instruction over whose working we had very little control, with regard to which we have had very little knowledge. It is delightful and easy to frame systems. Framed, they are left alone. In the old days, when Buckle made of statistics a god, a demon, we have known the test of numbers applied to the making of plantations. Praise was given according to the number of saplings planted; if you could get up to a million, how happy! The suitability of the trees to the soil, how many grew into noble trees, how many came up poor and stunted, was for the future. These are the old bottles; here the new wine, here the wooden funnels (glass ones not available—too costly) for pouring it in; and perhaps the bottles and the wine may not quite suit one another. There may be the danger of the latter bursting the former: it may be poured in too quickly, in too large a quantity; the funnels may be badly constructed, of poor material—a material tainting the wine. There ought to be no pouring in without thought and care and deep reflection. If there is anything our rule in India wants it is observation, observation, observation—thought, thought, thought! Scientific and technical teaching is no new thing: it is coeval with the founding of the Government colleges. Sixty years ago the college at Agra possessed a good library, in which were included works on physics; near it was a specially-erected building to contain a museum, a laboratory, and lecture-hall, in which was delivered an annual course of lectures in Natural Philosophy, accompanied by experiments. What watch was ever made, what notes kept, of the *effects* of those lectures, of the science teaching? An agricultural college was started in Madras fifty-six years ago—in 1854. In 1904-05 a committee was appointed to report on it, and did so most adversely, "pointing out the unsuitability of the curriculum, the inadequacy of the teaching staff, and

the inefficiency of the practical work and of the management of the farm attached to the college"—a somewhat sweeping condemnation. What we have to point out is that this condition of things could not have sprung up at once; must have existed for many years before. The above quotation is from the "Fifth Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India." (Any future extracts will be marked "F.Q.R.") The college has been abolished; a new one is to be established in its place—a better one. That brings us on to the principle we believe in: a few good schools and colleges are better than a great number of bad or poor ones.

"Of the affiliated arts colleges, eighty-eight are first grade and seventy-three are second grade (*i.e.*, teaching only up to the Intermediate Standard). The second-grade college as a status definitely recognized is to be condemned . . . no new second-grade colleges should be affiliated . . . those existing and unable to rise to the first grade should be ranked as schools."—F.Q.R.

"Too frequently, however, it was found that the instruments provided for the teaching of physics were in the nature of toys rather than of serious instruments of precision."—F.Q.R.

Elsewhere such instruments are again characterized as toys, as playthings.

Of aided schools in the United Provinces an Assistant Inspector writes: "The Manager is generally incompetent or unwilling, the schoolmaster is almost always an incapable man, the school building is generally of a most disgraceful kind, and the attendance therein is almost nominal."—F.Q.R.

With regard to Secondary Schools: "One of the causes of the bad teaching is the employment of teachers who have in the majority of cases not only been badly trained themselves in England, but have also received an imperfect general education."—F.Q.R.

With regard to Technical Schools: "The crucial difficulty is the procurement of teachers . . . there is at this moment

no normal school of Handicrafts in India, which means that the bottom stone of true Technical Education has yet to be laid, and that such schools as exist are under half-trained men : a system which will ultimately do more harm than good."—F.Q.R.

"The foundation for all good technical work is a sound general education, and when this is wanting no amount of training can supply the deficiency."—F.Q.R.

In the United Provinces : "The ordinary primary school building is quite unsuited to its object. This is because masters use them as dwelling-houses, and get them built for that purpose.* . . . The ventilation is wholly inadequate. . . . The lighting is so defective as to harm the boys' eyesight."—F.Q.R.

In Madras : "Most of the Inspectors report that the buildings in which primary schools are located are in general not well adapted for school purposes, being ill-lighted, ill-ventilated, and often situated amid insanitary surroundings. The schools under public management are better than the rest. . . ."—F.Q.R.

In Bengal : "Sir Andrew Fraser has been much struck during his tours of inspection with the miserable character of these buildings. The rooms are cramped and dark, ill-ventilated and cheerless. . . . There is a prevailing belief that bad sight and phthisical disease are on the increase in Bengal, and that this is due, in part at least, to the wretched buildings in which the young people are educated."—F.Q.R.

A "prevailing belief" such as the above would arouse as great a dislike of our rule as does the misconduct of our vaccinators, all Indians, or the insensate zeal in times of plague and pestilence of some of the young medical men of the Army Corps.

Our extracts apply neither to one school or college only, nor to them all. There are exceptions. There are schools

* The same abuse was found to prevail among teachers of the same class in Switzerland in the days of Pestalozzi (*circa* 1780).

well placed, well built, pretty well equipped, tolerably well manned. But it will be observed that the inspectors and Sir Andrew Fraser all speak generally ; the extracts give a correct general impression. It is greatly a matter of means, but not wholly so. Poor pay will not procure good teachers. But while money can obtain you good houses, good equipment, it cannot get you good teachers *at once*. To find them is the "crucial difficulty." In other words, there are already more schools than they can find fit masters for. The cultivation is too extensive ; requires to be more intensive. "All the High Schools and almost all the Anglo-Vernacular schools in Native States have handsome, specially constructed buildings." This is, of course, because there are fewer of them. The Native States referred to are those in the Bombay Presidency.

It is to the schools and colleges and institutes for scientific and technical teaching and research that the rule of intensive as against extensive would apply most strongly. They must be well equipped and their apparatus must be costly, as most of it would have to be procured from England. They should have thoroughly competent teachers, but as regards the Indian ones the obtaining of them is a great difficulty. And in a great many cases there is the difficulty, which also deserves the epithet "crucial," we think, of obtaining scholars. They are induced to come by means of stipends—scholarships. With these they will often continue their attendance at the institution, not for the full course, but only up to the time when some post or appointment offers itself. (It must be remembered that the support of wife and child is ever before the eyes of the early-married Hindu student.) Or science classes are attended merely with reference to the admission to the University. Thus, in a United Provinces report : "An increasing number of pupils are electing to read science in the High Schools, and it appears the popularity of the subject is due to its being considered an easy means of entrance to the University, especially as Persian, which was previously a favourite subject, cannot

now be taken for the Matriculation Examination, but has to be combined with knowledge of Arabic." There is one point to which we have never seen any allusion made—we have not found any in this *Quinquennial Review*—it is that with a great multiplication of schools the inspection cannot be thorough. It is not remembered that the inspections can be, are, made during one half of the year only; also over very wide areas. With regard to the former, we think it is a bad thing that teachers should feel themselves free from observation for the whole year all but a day. In our own irrigation work, at the time we were engaged in it, constant tours of inspection at all times of the year, especially the unpleasant, were held essential. Shelter, or rest, houses were provided; they should stand among the necessary buildings of the Education Department, and all its inspectors should be able to ride.

Mr. Spring may say that when technical education is being introduced into a province the school or schools must come first; teaching cannot begin without them; in them the teachers needed for the extension of the special form of education will be trained, produced. We should agree with him, of course. But that beginning time is past. That was the time of hope and anticipation merely. Now trial has been made; scientific and technical schools have been introduced into every province. We can judge now from experience, found our judgment on facts and figures, on results, on proved requirements. With regard to one province it is said: "There is as yet little demand for technical education, and the little advance that has been made has practically left unaffected the great mass of the industrial population." This is no reason for the abandonment of the enterprise (we know that India is not a land of quick change, we are aware of the enormous conservative power, proved through long ages, of religion and caste and custom there), but for pause and for considered advance and careful looking into of the existing machinery. We should not, in face of the above declaration, increase the number of the schools fivefold, which is what Mr. Spring's

proposal of eleven hundred more schools for the whole peninsula comes to. Let us turn to the special case of agricultural education. With regard to this, by the agency of the Government, it was said that India had been a land of skilled agriculturists for hundreds of generations; that the cultivators knew as well as any peasantry in the world how to make the most of the soil and of the fruits of the tillage; that Western experience and practice were dangerous guides in the East; that with regard to the existing institutions for theoretical and practical instruction in agriculture, the results achieved were incommensurate with the time, labour, and money, devoted to the subject. To all this the Government replied that it had determined "to prosecute with more system and energy than heretofore the inquiries into the facts of Indian agriculture which will enable us to further its development; and that agriculture itself, as the experience of other countries demonstrates, is capable of improvement by the application of science, like the other industries of mankind," and so "the Imperial Agricultural College and Central Research Institute" has been founded at Pusa in Behar, and an agricultural college and research institute arranged for in every province. "Well done!" we say. Here is concentration; here is the experiment to be made anew, in what different fashion! How different this from the agricultural college of 1854 in Madras, mentioned above, from the experimental farms we have seen. Here is a carrying out of the policy which we have always recommended—"the desirability of concentrating the main expenditure upon existing large and central institutions, while at the same time everything possible should be done to aid existing schools which are doing good work."—F.Q.R.

At all the four engineering colleges has begun a new era of expansion and improvement, more especially on the industrial side. You cannot begin with vessels of the *Mauritania* type, but the students of the Sibpur Engineering College "completely constructed (the boiler excepted) an eighty boat launch with twin compound condensing

engines." We would note also the founding in Calcutta, under purely Indian auspices, of the "Society for the Promotion of Technical Education in Bengal," which has built large workshops. "The institute was started under the revulsion which followed the partition of Bengal." There are some people who see something fine in the Swadeshi movement. We do not; we see nothing in it but ignorance, foolishness, and malignity. The right boycott is that of the inferior article. The superior article should be bought; it is its right. To buy the inferior is to promote inefficiency, bar improvement. To insist upon the use of inefficient reaping-hooks and saws and axes is to injure your own husbandry and handicrafts. It is to perpetuate inferiority. It is to stop invention. It is to paralyze the hand and arm and brain and soul of your workmen. It is not in the great workshops of the West, but in the pitiful home worksheds of the East, that the workman becomes a mere machine. Nothing can be more mechanical, more soul-dulling than the work of the village potter in India; the moulding of his pots is as mechanical as the filling of his brick-moulds. The Swadeshi principle injures the commerce of the land, prevents its free, full movement. Where carried out it has done more injury to the natives than the foreigner; it has hurt twenty of the former to one of the latter. It has disturbed local trade; injured the retailer, almost always a native, the importer, who may be one also, as much as the producer; laid trouble on the consumers, natives of the land; interfered with that most essential element in the development of industries, the choice of the buyer, and with that demand which calls forth the supply. It is malignity, it is foolishness, it is ignorance. We speak not for the Dutchman, or the Frenchman, or the Chinaman, or the Englishman, or the American, or the German, but for the Indian. Let the reader read Extract 1 from Mr. Spring's paper. We think that an increase in the wealth of India, in the comfort and prosperity of her people, has taken place without the advent of the conditions he desiderates. We

desiderate those conditions too. But are things to stand still till they come? A man determines to wear only the old, inefficient, local-made spectacles, with harm to his own efficiency, hurt to his eyes. He may do this for the sake of the local spectacle-maker, the indigenous industry. So the man who keeps up his right arm until it withers away and renders him an inefficient citizen may hold this incumbent on himself; but he would have no right to impose this on others, and produce a maimed community. The inferior spectacle wearer has no right either. He is in favour of local industries. Then let him throw his energies and means and superior knowledge into the improvement of them, the bringing of them up to the best-known level, above it. If he can do the latter, then Bhagulpore or Rungpore will have command of the spectacle trade, not only of India, but of the world, as Toledo and Damascus once had of the sword trade.

So though "The Society for the Promotion of Technical Education in Bengal" may have been started under Swadeshi motives, it is the right direction in which such motives should act, and has our heartiest sympathy. We wish it every success. Let every effort be made to prevent failure. A Bengalee gentleman tells us that people in India in recent years had lost much money owing to Indians who had gone to Europe "and learnt imperfectly an industry for two or three years, then returned and started the industry, and the whole thing collapsed."

It is merely a local affair, but we are astonished to see it stated that the workshops connected with the Thomason Civil Engineering College at Rurki suffer from want of power, considering the amount of water power there is at the Falls on the Ganges Canal above them, and close below them.

With reference to what Mr. Spring says about Indians of the upper and literate classes looking down on industrialism—see Extracts 5 and 7 above—we give the following extract from the *Quinquennial Review*: "Formerly one

cause assigned for the backwardness of technical education was the reluctance of the educated classes to avail themselves of it, but this reluctance is fast disappearing, and the demand is now in many places strong."

Even at the cost of being placed among those "incapable of drawing wise conclusions from reliable premises," we have to declare ourselves opposed, absolutely, to the placing of a heavy burden of taxation on the people of India, even for the bringing in of "the new education"—see Extract 8 above.

Mr. E. B. Flavell, who ought to know, as once head of an Indian School of Art, declares that there has been a great waste of money in the past on Art Schools and Technical Schools. The solid fact is that the expenditure on education in India in 1907, the last year of the quinquennium, was, from public funds, 296 lakhs of rupees, with additions from sources other than public funds, 559 lakhs of rupees, as compared with 177 lakhs and 401 lakhs in the year 1902, the first year of the quinquennium.

With regard to what Mr. Spring says in the first paragraph of Extract 3, we have to point out that under the very first Educational Department formed by us in India, the value of whose work is apt to be very much underrated now, works on science, formed part of the curriculum, as well as those of "Shakespeare and of Mill." As we have said above, there were lectures in physics, accompanied by experiments at the Agra College, before the year 1854. Much as we value the teaching of science, we think that at this moment the danger is of the educational pendulum swinging too much that way. We quite agree with Mr. Spring that India has had too much of a surfeit of poetry and philosophy, of that of the local kind—the kind of an earlier, more childish, age. The remedy must come from a higher literature. Comparisons are odious; but there are certain deficiencies of mind and character which seem to present themselves to all observers of the inhabitants of India, from a very early to the present time, one of the latest observers, a Frenchman, summing them up in

the one word *slackness*. The raising and strengthening must come more from the literary than the scientific side of our teaching. We would not have Shakespeare given up for a book on entomology. It was a very great pleasure to us, two years ago, to find the centenary of two great English poets celebrated by Indians in one place at least in India one of the poets being he who did not forget to bring into his great poem mention of "Agra and Lahore of Great Mogul," and of "the pillared aisles of shade" of the banyan. We are wholly in accord with the last clause of the following sentence taken from the *Quinquennial Review*: "One of the chief hindrances to the further progress of technical education arises from deficiencies in the system of general education upon which it must be based, and for which it cannot be substituted."

The conclusion of the matter is that we think that the measures being taken by the re-awakened educational authorities in India are ample and judicious.

There is one thing in the five years' work under review which we cannot pass by without notice, because of the deep satisfaction it affords ourselves, because of its deep import, because it is the chief sign that our system of education in India is beginning to have a soul as well as form; it is the attention that is being paid to the location of the colleges; to the placing of them amid good natural surroundings; to the making of them residential, to the utmost extent possible, by providing adequate accommodation for the students and residences for the teachers. The Canning College at Lucknow is to be rebuilt and placed in a new and beautiful site in the Badshah Bagh, the King's Garden. The Islamia College at Lahore, occupying "unsuitable and inadequate premises," is to move to a "new site of seven acres," we hope to noble, new buildings. The removal of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, to a new site is under consideration. Sixty acres of land have been added to the Deccan College, Poona. The Civil Engineering College at Sibhur, Bengal, is to be moved up to Ranchi. Presidency College

Calcutta, should be removed to Ranchi also. It is important to have as many institutions as possible together in the good sites, and thus combine the means available for their construction and also bring together as many English professors as possible, thus making the English influence stronger. So shall rise up fair and noble buildings, educational in themselves, and fair groves and gardens. So shall rise up the fair growth of kindly feeling between student and teacher. When the English colleges were founded, not the least of the advantages looked for from them was the drawing together of the two races, first by means of the natural tie between teachers and taught, next by the two having in common the English tongue and English literature. In the East the tie between master and pupil is a very close one—closer, it is declared, in the Akhlaq-i-Jullaly than that between son and father, for the father is but creator of his body, the teacher of his soul. We are sorry to find a doubt about the removal of the Calcutta (Presidency) College. It should be taken out of the brothel-filled city. It was mentioned casually that the square in Calcutta, in which the first gathering of disorderly students took place, had around it four hundred brothels; but it was a fact of deep and melancholy significance, as was likewise the fact of the processions of the students being accompanied by prostitutes; as is also the fact of the professional courtesans holding a prominent position in the religious and social systems of the land. The Government has been supplying funds with a generous hand for the erection, or enlargement, of hostels in connection with the colleges; it could not but be moved by the statement of the commission appointed to inquire into education in India that it had found students coming from a distance living in lodgings kept by women of ill-fame because of the restriction of accommodation at some colleges.

Let the new institutions be placed in pleasant situations out in the honourable, open land. Let not the chance of raising structures that will be an ornament to the land, a

source of joy and pride to all connected with them, be thrown away. Let not the opportunity of giving play to indigenous talent in architecture and handicraft be lost. Let the English instructors who are to be installed in these institutions be chosen with utmost care, for qualities of enthusiasm and sympathy as well as for the needful intellectual ability. So may Indian and Englishman be found here working together as one man.

"The East is East, and West is West,
And ne'er shall the twain be one,"

says Mr. Kipling. But ne'er may ne'er be used with reference to the future. It would have seemed so proper to be used with reference to the arctic plains of Canada being converted into wheat-fields. And yet it has come about. And through what agency? That of the new steam-driven machinery, and that not only as displayed on the railway, but in the woollen mills. It was warm clothing, the armour against the cold which had for so long held sovereign sway, that enabled that transformation to be brought about. The environment rules, it is said; but it is forgotten that in the former ages, from the experience of which the saying found birth, was derived, the environments were smaller and their boundaries more rigid, less often overpassed, to outward or to inward, so that the conditions obtaining in them had full, continued play. Thus was it in India. But now we have expanded the environment, made egress and ingress easy, altered the local conditions. We have set into motion the great power of steam. Before it we had brought into Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, not only our commerce, but our law and our learning. "Throughout Nature the influence of food is undoubtedly one of the most important environmental factors." We know what stress Buckle laid upon it, and how his greatest illustration of it was the rice-eating of Bengal. India offers also the illustration of a food crop, a pulse, whose excessive or exclusive use is most injurious. One of the divisions of India has been by the typical food-crops—wheat, rice, and

millet. When enumerating the benefits likely to arise from the extension of railways in India, we purposely reserved mention of one benefit which we hold not the least, though we have never seen, anywhere, any allusion to it: this is the diffusion of the foodstuffs, thus allowing everywhere of a more mixed diet, giving Bengal and Southern India the benefit of the best foodstuff--wheat. There have been many other improvements in the dietary. We are affecting the atmospheric conditions by our forest operations, and will do so more and more, beneficially, when those operations are extended over the whole of the land. Long ago we proposed that along every road and irrigation channel running north and south in the region lying between the Sutlej and the level of Cawnpore should be planted on either side, not merely single or double lines of trees, but thick belts of trees, which would subserve the not unimportant purposes of supplying firewood and leaf manure, but whose main object would be the breaking of the sweep of the hot west wind. We called attention to the disastrous denudation which in the Ganges-Jumna Doâb has turned, and is turning, such large areas into arid wastes, is producing an arid atmosphere. On the other hand, much improvement may be made by the drainage of swamps, the regulation of rivers. In short, we have changed, modified, the conditions of the environment, environments. There is beginning to be, slowly, a new India, a new people. We ourselves observed a rise in the moral sense. "The course of the past generation has had few things more noticeable to offer us than the improvement in the efficiency and the honesty of our native Indian officials. There can be little doubt that by the study, through English literature, of higher standards of morality, Indian minds have acquired conceptions of duty which they could with difficulty have gleaned from the Oriental classics," says Sir Bumpfylde Fuller in his most excellent book on India. "There can be no doubt that with this progress in education the Indians have become more honest, truthful, and candid in all their relations," says

S. M. Mitra in his valuable book on India. There is arising a new East as there has arisen a new West. In England many peoples have been joined together to form the English race. If such amalgamation seems not possible in India, for one reason, that the English have no desire to settle there, for another, that the Indians occupy the land so fully, there seems no reason why they should not work together there side by side. In the translation, the transfiguration, of the verses of Omar Khayam by Fitzgerald, we see what a great result may be produced by joint action of the differing gifts of the English and an Oriental race. So may we hope that by the whole-soul, joint working together, of Indian and Englishman in India, may arise a great poem of humanity, a great new psalm of life.

What is needed most with regard to Indian industry, as with regard to so many other things Indian, is correct statement, true and not false estimates. There is the repetition of old, unfounded panegyric. It is easier to repeat old pronouncements than inquire into their correctness; held safer by those whose own knowledge is slight. The saying of the Eastern sage that the judicious falsehood is better than the strife-engendering truth is held the rule for criticism. One who praises is "nicer" than one who blames. Better the office of swinger of incense-burners than that of turner-on of search-lights. Better the pretty-coloured windows than the plain pane that lets through the clear light of heaven. There are those whose eyes are blinded by party passions; who think it necessary to be pro-English or pro-Indian. There are those who are intoxicated by their own fine feelings, which they hold as distinguishing themselves alone, who survey Indian things from a superior height which they consider as occupied by themselves alone, and are violently anti-English and pro-Indian. There are others who from their own height of arrogance look down on everything Indian and are violently pro-English and anti-Indian. What is wanted is the standing on the earth, the clear, close vision, the calm,

cool judgment. Again, there is the tall talk, when the thought is more about the talk than the thing talked of. There is the deluding, picturesque writing.

One writer on Indian handicrafts tells us that every blacksmith and carpenter in India is an artist. But in the *Quinquennial Review* we read: "There is everywhere a dearth of good carpenters, smiths, and stonemasons. In the larger towns a man is here and there capable of almost any iron-work that does not require heavy and expensive machinery; but the village *Lohar* (smith) cannot repair the simplest machine, nor can the village *Barhai* (carpenter) make accurately the plainest box."

Another writer on Indian arts and industries has drawn a most idyllic picture of the village potter, one that conveys a most absolutely inaccurate impression of his work and condition. We knew the man and his circumstances well. The men and their circumstances varied somewhat, of course; but not much. The potter was a part of the ancient organization of the village, with its fixed, unchangeable conditions. This writer named that fixedness as one of the chief factors in the potter's happiness; the hereditary occupation, the certain livelihood. But it was not stated that the occupation was held a lowly one; that the potter was held the servant of the cultivators—in the report of an Indian Inspector of Schools we find him alluded to as "the despised potter"—while his income was placed at too high a figure. The fact that the potter has to eke out his earnings by beating the drum on certain occasions shows that his position is not lofty nor his earnings great. We have watched him at his work we cannot say how many hundred times. There was something charming in the simplicity of the work. He sat in the open air; above was the sun that baked his wares. The heavy clay wheel revolved on a pivot resting on the ground. The potter squatted beside it. He made the wheel revolve—kept it revolving by means of a short stick, whose end was pressed into a nick on the wheel's surface. It was pretty to see

how the shapeless mass of clay passed into graceful forms between his palms and fingers. All his material and all his apparatus had come out of the neighbouring ditch and hedge—at all events, from within the village boundary. Many very beautifully shaped articles come off the village potter's wheel. But that wheel has the disadvantages of its simplicity and cheapness, as the treadle-worked wheel of the higher class of city potters—those who glaze, and ornament, and bake their ware—has the advantages of its greater complexity and cost. By the use of the treadle, worked by the foot, the wheel can be maintained at a greater speed and horizontal for a longer time, while the hands and arms and attention are left free for the work of moulding. The village wheel maintains its horizontality for seven or eight minutes only; very soon begins the wobble so injurious to the work. It is not advantageous for the potter to have to take his hands off the moulding continually, to have to use his hands and arms both for the delicate work of the moulding and the heavier work of the driving of the wheel. And so the village ware is apt to be very often ill-made and defective—a matter often remarked, but always attributed to some wrong cause, as the nature of the clay, for instance. This defectiveness does not matter as regards the ordinary domestic uses to which the articles are put in the village; but as the better class of potters, referred to above, often buy these very cheap articles to glaze or ornament, their poor quality deteriorates the superior industry. Sir George Watt summarily relegates the village pottery to the class "Rubbish," and the people set very small value on it. The free-hand destruction of it has been a characteristic feature of the village life for ages back, as shown by layer after layer of potsherds in the village mound. Soiling easily, not easy to cleanse, by water or by fire, these vessels are often thrown away after being used once only. Every such vessel in the house has to be destroyed on most ceremonial occasions. It is strange that the potter, the craftsman the work of

whose hands is thus treated, destroyed almost as soon as made, should have been idealized. Thus are false notions generated.

We turn to the premier industry of India—weaving. Reference is never made to it without mention of the poetical epithets, such as "woven air" and "running water," applied to its products to denote their exquisite fineness. But the many other things besides the pretty names connected with that fineness are left unmentioned, appear unknown. The fineness leads back to the fact of the limited amount of the material, the beautiful cotton fibre, available. There was no vast growth of the cotton plant, from circumstances of soil and climate, and also because the attention of the cultivator was bestowed primarily on the growing of foodstuffs. The quantity of cotton procurable had to be made the most of. That had to be looked to also by reason of the cost, the great advance in the price of the cotton when turned into yarn by slow hand and finger work. The fineness leads forward to the fact that fabrics of that quality could not find sale in every neighbouring market; customers for them had to be sought for among Kings and Princes and men of great wealth. The most advanced prices were to be got only in very distant places. The fineness gave reduction of cost of carriage by reduction of weight. As has been said before, the articles of commerce in old days were those that combined great value with small size and little weight. To add to the value of these light, fine fabrics they were richly embroidered, often with gold or silver thread. The poetical names have engendered false notions with regard to the industry. Fineness was the rule, but every article was not of the quality indicated by these names. Obviously fabrics so delicate that they could hardly be handled would not be made ordinarily: they were rarities. The manufacture of those of extraordinary fineness was noted: one such fine piece was made for Aurangzeb, another for George V. when he visited India. Each was a *tour de force*. Besides

this, all these names were not bestowed from the outside, did not express the emotions of wondering observers, but many, if not most, came from within, were bestowed by astute traders, were advertising names, similar in character, if superior in quality, to our own "Acme" and "Perfection" for skates, "Solace" and "Comforter" for shaving-soap sticks. But above all, it is necessary to note that these idyllic names did not connote an idyllic condition for the weaver, a time of serene prosperity which has passed away under our rule. His condition was always a poor one. The Abbé Dubois tells us how astonished those who had so greatly admired the Indian fabrics in Europe were on coming to India to find in what rude sheds and with what rude apparatus they were made, and how miserable the condition of the makers. They had not the means of buying the material or of supporting themselves and their families while the wares were making. They were mere wage-earners. They were dependent on the traders for advances, for which they had to pay the heavier interest from the well known danger there was of their absconding, their not fulfilling their engagements. The Abbé Dubois wrote a century ago. To come down to our own time, we make the following extracts from that excellent book, "A Vision of India," by Mr. Sidney Low: "The plant is not costly. The hand-loom consists of a few sticks and strings, and the whole apparatus, I was assured, could be bought new for less than a couple of rupees—say, half a crown." Provided with this "and a few hanks of cotton or silk thread," the "Indian weaver can get to work. He needs nothing more—nothing but his own bony fingers and his own capacity for patient, monotonous endurance.

The weaver is a little man; his occupation is not favourable to long limbs and big muscles. He sits on the floor of dried cow-dung, with his legs huddled into a hole under him; his flimsy framework hangs from the ceiling above, and he pulls the bobbin with its spool of thread backward and forward across his knees. He does this all day, never

varying the slow, even pace at which he goes, following his rough pattern without a mistake [can any work be more monotonous and soul-dulling? we pause to ask] seldom stopping to rest or talk. If you peer into his dark little cell in the early morning you find him there, silent and intent, with his brown hands skimming across his brown knees; in the noontide heat he goes on; he is still at his toil when evening falls." If "times are good" he "may earn seven rupees" a month; he "pays, perhaps, three rupees a month for his lodging," so that "he has four over" for "food and clothing and the maintenance" of his wife and children. We think the "perhaps three rupees" for lodging should be one rupee, which would leave him six in good times and probably four in bad.

We have found the hand-loom weaver still at work in many parts of Europe; he worked under conditions similar to those described above: his work is heavy, his gains light.

We have not at hand the report of the last Indian famine, but in those of former ones the weavers figured prominently among the earliest seekers of relief. It has to be remembered that their market among their own countrymen may stop completely at such times, for clothing is not an absolute need to the people of most parts of India.

All this notwithstanding, the condition of the Indian weaver is better now than it was a hundred years ago. We have already dwelt at length on the causes which have combined to make it so, which have enabled the Indian weavers to survive the competition of the new steam-driven machinery as no Western weavers have done.

What was the condition of the Western weaver before the new machinery came?—the halcyon one pictured by some writers? Here is a statement of it at the very time when the Indian weaver was in the condition described by the Abbé Dubois; it was written in the year 1808, of the weavers in an English county: "Not able to pay rents or buy themselves clothes, all their earnings have barely been

sufficient to keep them alive. Men with families to support are obliged to work from sixteen to eighteen hours in the day to do this."

How much more forcible this plain statement than Mr. Low's more rhetorical statement of the all-day work of the Indian weaver, but how wonderfully coincident the two?

Now, what the reason of this similarity in condition of the weaver in India and in England at the beginning of the last century, before the advent of the new machinery: in their condition then and that of the Indian weaver at the beginning of this century, so long after the advent of the new machinery? Common to them all was the want of capital, the high price of the yarn, the slow and distant sales. But the fundamental reason of the poor condition of the weaver everywhere, which applied to them all, was, and is, *the easy nature of the employment*. "The labour of the cotton-loom requires little strength and still less skill; it is quickly learned; women can engage in it, children be put to it early; it can be done by boy or girl of twelve, *and child labour means child's wages*." In India the caste rules, by which the weaver must be born such, restrict the influx of loose labour into the industry among the Hindus, but this does not constrain the Mahommedans; hence the great number of Mussulmans in this industry, the traders who employ them and make them advances being mostly Hindus.

"It is generally accepted that the higher flights of art, such as picture-painting and sculpture, usually spoken of as the Fine Arts, are little known, and still less practised, by the natives of India."—*Indian Art*.

One of the chief industries of India is the making of images in metal or stone. "To the student of religion many of these—noticeably those turned out by the stone-carvers of Jeypore—are no doubt interesting, but to the artist the major portion are crude and childlike in the extreme. Tied down to reproduce each particular figure in a certain attitude, the sculptor is restricted to a limited

number of poses, so that action, except of a stiff and unnatural character, is rarely found."—*Ibid.*

"How completely their figure sculpture fails in true art is seen at once when they attempt to produce it on a natural or heroic scale; and it is only because their ivory and stone and clay figures of men and animals are on so minute a scale that they excite admiration."—SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

Fitzgerald, of Omar Khayam fame, wrote in one of his letters: "When I look into Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, these Persians seem silly." In the translation of Haeckel's "Religions of the World" we find the same word used: "The Vedas are silly." Gipsy stories have a great resemblance, in form and substance, to the books of Hindu literature, to the sacred books and the epics. There is the same extravagance, vagueness, wildness, incoherence, the same want or tenuity of thought, so that it is difficult to find any meaning in line after line of poetry, sentence after sentence of prose; there is the same love of the fabulous, the same hatred of credibility; in both the same naïvete and childishness. The word "silly" may be expressive and true, but the use of "childish" instead, besides being more pleasant-sounding, would serve to indicate the reason of its existence—an early, a young, a childish civilization. The announcement with regard to the Hindus that they "have a civilization far older than our own" is made often, seemingly, as a kind admission, or a polite condescension, or a display of magnanimity, with no thought of the important fact that the antecedent civilization still lags in its old condition, and presents features, qualities, characteristics, that in the more advanced civilizations have long since passed away. It is a case of growing up, of arrested growth and continued growth; of maturity and immaturity. The arrest, which we have referred to before as the "standstill," displays itself in manners and customs, literature, religion, industries. Man's works reflect his mind and character, and affect them too. The

writer of the papers on the unrest in India now appearing in the *Times* has been bold enough to remark on the early loss of a full strong manhood among so many Hindoo youths, and on the vow of chastity among ascetics leading to gross and repulsive immorality: still too often Hindu marriage begins with a brutal assault which would be deemed criminal in England: whoredom is rampant in the land, and holds a recognized position both in the religion and the social system of the country: from all which issues the worship of the foul image of the lingam, the manufacture of which constitutes a large and flourishing indigenous industry. The blood-thirstiness of an ancient, part-savage civilization displays itself in the image of Kali. Look at that representation of her now hailed as "Mother," with her many arms, and her adornment of chopped-off heads, and her mouth dropping blood, and consider that it forms an index to condition of mind and character. So everything made—all the native literature, all the native industries—show forth the childishness of the time of their origin. We may pause for a moment to say that a childish literature would suit immature intellects, childish minds; that a large section of the Indian people is in that condition of immaturity; that many of the English educated students must come from that section; that to such the Western mental pabulum might be too strong meat, might disagree with them, irk them. That seems to be the case with many men having part in the present unrest, much of it an unrest of mental indigestion; and these from strong thought and solid reason turn back to the vegetable diet of childish fancies. So much of the literature, sacred or profane, is of the nursery, of the "Jack the Giant Killer" and "Jack of the Bean-stalk" order; so many of the industries, such as weaving, including carpet-making, embroidery, cap-making, turban-tying, and the like, are of a feminine character: many are cottage industries. Through all, including even the implements and caparisons of war, has appeared, and appears, something of the above-mentioned

childishness. With wonderful dexterity of hand appears a strange atrophy of the mind. All is repetition, copying, imitation. There is no invention, no inventiveness. The deft fingers are alive, but the brain seems dead. Even those admiring them most speak of the sterility, the petrification, of the Indian handicrafts. In them, as in the Hindu architecture, there is that sure sign of mental feebleness—a multiplication of the same forms and patterns and features. The tall spire of the Hindu temple will be covered from top to bottom with a multitude of small figures of the same gods and goddesses, while in the shrine it covers will stand a large image of some one of them, with two heads, or six arms, or four legs. Along the border of a piece of cloth may run a long line of tigers or peacocks, and we know the repetition of the leaf pattern on the Cashmere shawls. It is said, in "Indian Art," that the only approach to an entry into the domain of art by Indian handicraft is in the case of the well-known Lucknow figures, which hover between ornaments and toys.

"It is the image of routine, of the deadly monotony of an unthinking iteration. And in this Egyptian art is the picture of Egyptian life in all its aspects. Religion, literature, science, medicine, mathematics, agriculture—in none is there scarcely a trace of any forward movement or development beyond a point reached ages since in a remote antiquity.

"It is the mind, the guiding intelligence, which should lead the way, and which among all progressive races does lead the way, out of the archaic stage of development, which is at fault."

THE ENLARGED COUNCILS AND INDIAN FISCAL POLICY.

BY SIR ROGER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.L.E.

THE enlarged and reformed Legislative Council of the Viceroy of India, ushered into being with so many hopes and fears, has now passed through its baptism of fire. The prolonged debates on this year's Budget have given the world a fair view of the possibilities and the limitations of Lord Morley's reforms; and as an old Anglo-Indian, whose life and sympathies have been at least as much Indian as English, I rejoice to say that, in my humble opinion, the results have been so far eminently satisfactory. I have read, and have studied carefully, sentence by sentence, every speech in the admirable reports of those discussions furnished by the India Office to the House of Commons; and, looking at them with the critical eye of one who was for many years a member of the Imperial Parliament, I can honestly say that, both in manner and in substance, they compare not unfavourably with the debates in the Mother of Parliaments. His Excellency the President, in the short but sympathetic speech which closed the Calcutta Session of the Council, referred to the character of its debates in highly appreciative terms. Lord Minto said:

“As this is the last Budget Debate at which I shall be present, I venture to say a few words on the first session of the new Council which closes to-day. It has been a memorable session. The Council assembled at a moment of great anxiety, and was immediately called upon to support the Government of India in legislation which the conditions of the country had unfortunately rendered inevitable. That support was not only unhesitatingly forthcoming, but the reasons for it were discussed with a good sense and

appreciation of circumstances which fully confirmed the views I have always advocated, that increased representation of the real interests of India would not weaken, but would greatly strengthen, the hands of the Government. And throughout our debates there has been ample evidence of a deep interest in public affairs and a desire to contribute to the better administration of the country. The Government has benefited by criticism and suggestions, and the dignity of procedure so necessary to an assembly such as this has been well recognized by its members. I am aware that there have been exceptions to the observance of that dignity, and I am glad the honourable member Mr. Haque drew attention to them, as his doing so is evidence of the jealousy with which honourable members are prepared to safeguard a strict conformity with the rules of business; but I feel that I may very justly say that the exception to which he specially referred was due merely to a want of acquaintance with those rules, and certainly to no intentional discourtesy towards this assembly."

And it is only fair to remember that, even in the House of Commons, on the annual occasions when the House goes into Committee on the Indian Budget, both the Speaker in the debate on the question of his leaving the Chair, and the Chairman of Committees in the debate on the Financial Statement, have often found it very difficult to keep the discussion strictly relevant to the terms of the motion; for it is not unnatural that, both in the House of Commons and in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, members should endeavour to take the fullest possible advantage of the far too rare occasions on which a general discussion of the affairs of India is possible. And it should further be noted, in regard to the particular breach of order referred to by the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul Haque and the Viceroy, that it had been promptly noted by Sir Harvey Adamson and other members, and the speech in which

it occurred had been ably dealt with, in a good-humoured way, by two of the members for Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Hon. Shams-ul-Huda and the Hon. Mr. Ghaznavi. All this bodes well for the future of political discussion in India. The speeches of Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Dadabhoy, Mr. Chitnavis, Mr. Madge, and many other unofficial members were, as a rule, in good taste and thoughtfully argued; while nothing could exceed the dignified courtesy and tactfulness of the Finance Minister, or the studious moderation and the careful regard for official responsibility shown by Mr. Meston, Mr. Lyon, Mr. Carlyle, and other official members. And Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, Mr. Graham, Sir Sassoon David, and members of other nationalities, ably sustained the high traditions of the various commercial communities of the Presidency cities.

It cannot be said, I think, that the debates in the enlarged Imperial Legislative Council give any indication whatever of factious opposition to the general policy of the Government of India on the part of the unofficial members of any section. There is, of course, strong opposition to certain details of that policy on the part of individual members of the Council. For instance, Mr. Basu spoke warmly against the partition of Bengal; but the case on the other side—in favour of the partition—was put just as strongly by several of the honourable member's unofficial colleagues.

So with regard to the extraordinary *volte-face* executed by the present Government of India in regard to the opium monopoly. The traditional view of the Government of India was some years ago voiced by Lord Morley when, as Mr. John Morley in the House of Commons, he declared, in answer to Mr. Lupton, that to hand over the Indian opium revenue to the Chinese would be to "satisfy British righteousness at the cost of the Indian revenues." But now that both Lord Minto and Sir Edward Baker have repudiated that view, even Mr. Gokhale—who might have been expected to take a strong

Nationalist line, such as that taken by the late Maharaja of Darbhanga and Mr. Haridas Voharidas on the Opium Commission—admits that there is much to be said for the Anti-Opium Society of London!

On the various questions involved in the new taxation now imposed by the Government there is greater unanimity of opposition among the non-official members, if you except the protective tobacco duty and (to some extent) the protective petroleum duty, of which the tobacco duty is generally popular, and the petroleum duty is popular in Burma and Eastern Bengal and Assam. But on all these questions—and on all fiscal questions—the position taken up by the non-official members is a reasonable, and not a factious, one. It is founded on the universal demand of all Indians of all nationalities, all creeds, and all classes, for some amount of Protection for the nascent industries of the country.

This demand for some amount of Protection is the clear outstanding feature of the existing political situation in India. Every Indian-born statesman and economist anxiously awaits the reply of Great Britain to this overwhelming national demand.

It seems to me quite impossible for any conscientious moralist, who admits that the Imperial Parliament must govern India with some consideration for Indian national feeling, to approve the answer that is offered to that demand by the British Free Trade party. That Free Trade answer was formulated by Sir George Kemp, the Radical member for North-West Manchester, in the House of Commons on April 7 in the present year. He gloatingly said that "we had not allowed" India to put on a protective tariff; and when asked "Why?" by some Tariff Reformer, he haughtily replied, "Why! Because we had said that the fiscal system which was best for England was also best for India!" It seems quite lamentable that such an arrogant, domineering tone as this should be tacitly assented to in England by those English Liberals who—like Sir Charles

Schwann, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Byles, and the other members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee—adopt an altogether different tone in India by the mouth of their accredited representatives in the Indian National Congress.

It is understood that Sir William Wedderburn will be the President of this year's Indian National Congress at Allahabad in December next, and that he may be accompanied to that gathering by no less a personage in the Liberal Party than Sir Charles Dilke. It is quite certain that the question of the Indian Excise duties on the products of Indian cotton-mills to countervail the import duties on Lancashire and other cottons will be brought up, as usual, at this annual meeting. These duties constitute, for India, the crux of the Fiscal Problem. The question is absolutely urgent, and must be settled, one way or another, at once, for the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoi has given notice of a motion in the Viceroy's Legislative Council for their abolition, with the maintenance or increase of the import duties on Lancashire and other imported cotton goods. This is the full Protectionist demand. British Free Traders say that the duties must be maintained as at present—or that, if they are abolished, then all import duties must be abolished, which will at once flood India with the protected and subsidized goods of Japan and other Protectionist countries. Tariff Reformers, on the other hand, while approving the abolition of the Excise duties, entirely assent to the maintenance of the existing import duties on the import of cotton goods from foreign countries outside the British Empire, both for revenue and for protective purposes, and they demand the abolition of the import duties on Lancashire and other British goods, offering India in return substantial compensation in the shape of Imperial Preference, not only for her raw products, but also for her manufactures, in all the rich and progressive markets of the British Empire. It may be confidently stated that if the offer made to India by Tariff Reform of such exclusive trading privileges were

made to any of the great Protectionist trading communities, they would jump at such a lucrative reciprocity.

It will be interesting to hear how Sir William Wedderburn will justify the Free Trade contention to the Indian National Congress next December, which will contain such skilled debaters and Protectionists as Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Dadabhoi, Mr. Chitnavis, Pandit M. M. Malaviya, Rao Babadur, R. N. Mudholkar, and many other foemen worthy of his steel.

It is difficult to imagine that Sir William Webberburn will, in the Indian National Congress, maintain the arrogant tone of Sir George Kemp and the Manchester Cobdenites, or even that of Mr. William Tattersall, the leader and organizer of the Lancashire Free Traders. It will be remembered that Mr. Tattersall, writing in the *Spectator* of January 4, 1908, haughtily replied to Sir Charles Elliott's appeal to the men of Lancashire to meet the Indian Protectionists half-way by a give-and-take system of Imperial Preference, in these domineering words :

"Just so ; but while India is our Dependency, she will continue to be governed by our traditional policy of Free Trade."

Surely this tone is to be regretted. And it is still more deplorable that Mr. Asquith's Government adopt a similar tone towards the Protectionist aspirations of the whole of India. The Master of Elibank, who is now Mr. Asquith's Chief Whip, was in 1909 the Liberal Under-Secretary of State for India, and in that capacity he made a great speech on the Indian Cotton Duties at Currie in Midlothian, on December 13, 1909 ; and in that speech he offered the following explanation of the Indian Excise duty on the products of Indian cotton mills :

"India is essentially a Free Trade country, admitting all goods on equal terms, and even penalizing her home industries by the imposition of Excise duties on cotton, *really for the advantage of Lancashire*" (*sic*).

I have italicized the concluding words of this statement by the Liberal Under-Secretary of State, and I maintain that (though they represent the view of Sir George Kemp and Mr. Tattersall and the other Free Traders of Manchester) they are utterly at variance with our national duty and honour as trustees for the welfare of India.

And since then, Mr. Montagu, the present Liberal Under-Secretary, when questioned in the House of Commons the other day about the new Indian duties on the import of cigarettes from Bristol and Liverpool, boldly declared that Lord Morley was considering the propriety of imposing a similar Excise duty on the tobacco products of India! Now, I maintain that the Government of India, although perfectly justified in imposing heavy duties on the tobacco of Havana, New York, Rotterdam, Manila, and other foreign countries—that would have produced revenue, and would have protected the industry both of Mr. Birrell's constituents in Bristol and of the Government of India's own subjects in Burma and Madras—were guilty of an act of gross insult and unfriendliness towards the Mother-country, and towards the cigarette-makers of Bristol and Liverpool, when they treated the United Kingdom (for the purposes of this Protective tobacco taxation) as a foreign country, merely out of deference to the Free Trade prejudices of the Home Government in Downing Street. Of course the *doctrinaire* bigots of the Cobden Club would have shrieked if Sir Fleetwood Wilson had shown any preference for the British working-men over the cigarette-makers of Holland and the United States. But it is little less than monstrous that, because the Liberal Government insist on taxing the trade of Bristol and Liverpool for the sake of Free Trade and the *beaux yeux* of the foreigner, they should also contemplate such an outrage on Indian habits as an Excise duty on Indian tobacco! I venture to say that there is not an Indian, nor an Anglo-Indian, who is not perfectly well aware that it would be absolutely impossible to levy such a tax; and that if any silly attempt

were made to levy such a tax, it would be simply disastrous to the cause of law and order. And the only gainers by such an act of egregious folly would be, not Mr. Birrell's constituents in Bristol, but the Cobden Club, and the American and Dutch and other foreign tobacco merchants. Not a single Indian member of the Viceroy's Council would assent to such a tax for one moment; and what sort of Liberalism is that that would by force impose such an iniquitous burden on a whole continent, in the teeth of the passionate objections of the whole of its representatives? Sir William Wedderburn will probably be asked this question in India.

Both the Government of India and the Legislative Council take a very different view of the Indian Fiscal Problem from that now prevailing in Downing Street.

For, in this year's Budget, the Government of India have imposed a moderate tax on the import of petroleum, that is distinctly and admittedly protective of industries of the highest promise in Burma and Assam. They have imposed a heavy tax on the import of tobacco, which is still more distinctly protective of an industry that is indigenous throughout wide regions, both in India and in Burma. If only the tobacco of Bristol and Liverpool, and the various other products of the United Kingdom and the Colonies, had been exempted, as well as the Indian products, from liability for these contributions of the foreigner to Indian revenue, these taxes would have been Tariff Reform taxes. And the Indian Finance Minister on March 4 last distinctly stated from his place in the Council Chamber—

“The fact that a tax presents advantages other than the mere production of revenue does not prove that the tax is a bad one.”

This is the very ABC of Tariff Reform as an economic doctrine. And, further, some indication of the Finance Minister's feeling towards Imperial Preference may be gathered from a pregnant phrase in his concluding speech on the Budget :

"Personally it is my earnest desire, as it is my intention, to approach Indian finance from an Indian standpoint. But I should like to add that I can conceive nothing more unfortunate than any attempt to separate the common interests of England and India."

That exactly expresses, so far as England and India are concerned, the Imperial Preference that Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain demand for the whole of the British Empire. The Free Traders approach finance from the cosmopolitan point of view, and think at least as much of the interests of the "poor foreigner" as of the common interests of England and India and the Colonies. It may be admitted that, as yet, the Indian Protectionists not unnaturally "approach Indian finance from an Indian standpoint," and from that standpoint only. But such eloquent words as those I have here quoted from the Finance Minister's speech, if translated into deeds, will assuredly sink down into the hearts of Indians, and will induce them to develop their reasonable and honourable ideas of an Indian *Swadeshi* into equally honourable and still more reasonable ideas of an Imperial *Swadeshi*—with all fair consideration for the interests of the foreigner, but with first consideration for the "common interests" of the Empire.

The Indian argument for Protection was clearly and forcibly expressed, on March 29 last, by the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy, the Hon. Mr. Chitnavis, and many other Indian speakers. The words of Mr. Chitnavis, the very able and experienced member for the Central Provinces, are so much to the point that they are worth quoting at some length. In the course of a telling speech he said :

"The Hon. Finance Member is to be congratulated . . . on taxation which might encourage, however feebly, home industries. The country must be grateful to him [the Finance Member] for his sympathetic attitude towards Indian industries. 'I think

Swadeshi is good, and if the outcome of the changes I have laid before the Council result in some encouragement of Indian industries, I for one shall not regret it.' For a Finance Minister to say even so much is not a small thing in the present state of India's dependence upon the most pronounced and determined Free Trade country in the world. . . . At the same time we regret the absence of fiscal autonomy for India and the limitations under which this Government has to frame its industrial policy. We regret that Government cannot give the country a protective tariff forthwith. However excellent Free Trade may be for a country in an advanced state of industrial development, it must be conceded that Protection is necessary for the success and development of infant industries. Even pronounced protagonists of Free Trade do not view this idea with disfavour. That Indian manufacturing industry is in its infancy does not admit of controversy. Why should not India, then, claim special protection for her undeveloped industry? Even countries remarkable for their industrial enterprise and excellence protect their industries. The United States and Germany are decidedly Protectionist. The British Colonies have protective tariffs . . . protective in purpose, scope, and effect. They are not, like the Indian import duties, levied for revenue purposes. The Indian appeal for Protection cannot in the circumstances be unreasonable. The development of the industries is a matter of great moment to the Empire, and the popular leanings towards Protectionism ought to engage the sympathy of Government. The imposition of import duties for revenue purposes is sanctioned by precedent and principle alike. . . . And yet for a small import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon cotton goods a countervailing Excise duty upon home manufactures is imposed in disregard of Indian public opinion, and the latest

pronouncement of the Secretary of State has dispelled all expectations of the righting of this wrong. The people again feel alarmed at the news that the Secretary of State has promised to consider the question of an Excise duty upon Indian tobacco. We hope the Government of India will strongly resist all attempts to force these irritating Excise duties upon India. This Government, with its knowledge of local feeling and local conditions, cannot favour such duties, and they must be fought with vigour with all the resources of enlightened statesmanship which we have come to associate with Your Excellency's honoured name."

No less forcible in the same direction was the speech in Council of the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy, a gentleman of considerable distinction both in England and in India. Speaking for Bombay, as well as for the Central Provinces, Mr. Dadabhoy said :

" My Lord, the present depressed condition of the Indian cotton industry should engage the anxious consideration of this Government. The development of Indian manufacture, providing as it does a solution of the Indian economic problem, must have official sympathy and support; and when a hitherto progressive industry is threatened with injury, adequate provision ought to be made by Government for its preservation. Every obstruction, every drawback, should be removed; nay, more, every encouragement should be given to maintain vitality and to ensure growth. The countervailing Excise duty upon Indian cotton fabrics is an impediment—unnecessary, unjust, irritating, and vexatious—which a wise Government would in the circumstances hasten to remove. But there does not appear to be, in England at any rate, any disposition to do this act of justice and statesmanship. The public had hoped that the temper of the

Home Government in relation to this matter would improve after the General Elections ; but the Secretary of State's promise to consider the question of a counter-vailing excise upon Indian tobacco is calculated to dispel all hopes of redress. My lord, nowadays we hear a good deal of Tariff Reform ; there is a swinging back of the pendulum in Free Trade England. Why cannot the people of this country hope for a share in that reform when it comes ? Why cannot they expect a protectionist change in the tariff policy of this Government ? . . . There is a general feeling in favour of Protection in this country ; a judicious protective tariff is demanded by intelligent public opinion in the interests of the undeveloped industries. Can the Government disregard this opinion long with either justice or advantage ? No doubt the question is very serious, involving far-reaching issues, and should not be lightly disposed of ; but public interest would best be served by a free discussion in private conference between the representatives of the Government and the leaders of public opinion."

The speeches of Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, of the Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, and of Sir Sassoon David, in dealing with the duty on the import of silver, all told the same tale of Indian disabilities caused by our foolish Free-Trade policy and the successful Protectionism of Japan. Sir Vithaldas said :

"The Indian industry has to contend with unequal competition. Take, for instance, Japanese cotton mills. They are nursed by their Government as a mother nurses a favourite child. Japan has given a protected home market to her cotton mills, thus enabling them to dump down their surplus products in China markets at less than cost price, without any loss to their shareholders. Japanese manufacturers are also helped by loans of cheap money in times of de-

pression, and also by a special ridiculously low rate of freight for cotton from India to Japan through subsidized steamship companies."

And the Hon. Sachchidananda Sinha declared that—

"In connection with the new duties, we have learnt with considerable apprehension that efforts are being made by some members of the House of Commons to induce the Secretary of State for India to force the hands of the Indian Government to impose an Excise duty on Indian tobacco to countervail the import duty. My Lord, I earnestly hope that Your Excellency's Government will not yield to any pressure from the Home Government. The import duty levied on tobacco is admittedly for revenue purposes, and it is not at all of a protective character. It is bad enough, in all conscience, that an Excise duty is imposed on the products of our cotton mills, but an Excise duty on indigenous tobacco would be so indefensible that I am not surprised to find that even some of the Anglo-Indian papers have begun to enter emphatic protest against the suggestion. The Home Government has already forced the Government of India to relinquish the opium revenue in order, as Lord Morley is reported to have said, 'to satisfy British righteousness at the cost of Indian revenue.' I trust it is not too much to hope that no further pressure will be brought on Your Excellency's Government to impose an Excise duty on our tobacco."

The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar spoke as strongly in the same sense :

"The cotton spinning and weaving industry is the manufacturing industry which holds promise of industrial and commercial greatness to this country. . . . My lord, the importance of the industry well justifies the demand for special facilities. But, leaving aside

facilities, we may well ask the Government not to do anything which would have the effect of increasing its difficulties."

I might go on quoting from the speeches in this memorable debate, all pointing in the same direction. I will only add one more quotation, and that shall be from the weighty speech of Sir Sassoon David of Bombay, whose knowledge of the trade with the Far East is unsurpassed. Sir Sassoon said :

"The tobacco duty, I admit, was justifiable, but I see it has evoked a singularly unfortunate suggestion as coming from England—that of an Excise duty upon Indian tobacco. I earnestly hope that means will be found to close at once the discussion of a project that is sinister both in nature and origin, and, as I believe, quite impracticable in maintaining a staff capable of collecting the Excise. . . . It should be borne in mind that formerly Japan was one of our best customers, and in 1888-89 she took from us more than 23 million pounds of yarn. Now she takes none, but takes instead large quantities of raw cotton, thereby raising the price of our raw material while lowering the price of our finished products in the Chinese market. The largest quantity of raw cotton shipped to Japan in a single year was 2,526,200 cwt. in 1901-02. But in the eleven months of the current year, 1909-10, no less than 2,873,400 cwt. have been shipped. In the face of these facts, and of the increasing activity and efficiency in the Chinese spinning industry, it is vain to pretend that India's trade with the Further East is in a position to stand any superfluous handicap whatsoever."

It is a very remarkable fact that, so far as I can judge from the official report of this historic debate, the only voice to break the unanimity of the unofficial members was heard in a short speech by Mr. Armstrong of Bombay.

Even Mr. Armstrong joined his colleagues in deprecating any taxation that would upset Indian trade with the Far East. But he struck a jarring note in advocating, as a substitute for such taxation, an increase of the duty on salt. To anyone who has any knowledge of the life and needs of the poorest classes in India this proposal is very repugnant. The income-tax affects the middle classes and Government servants much as the salt-tax affects the poor; and these two imposts represent the *dernier ressort* of Free Trade.

Very different was the statesmanlike proposal of Mr. Gokhale to impose an export duty on the export of raw jute. The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce—a purely Indian body, not to be confused with the Bengal Chamber, which is mainly European—on the first publication of the new Japanese tariff that is soon to come into operation, at once approached the Government of India, through the Calcutta Collector of Customs, and pointed out the disastrous effect this new tariff would have on Indian trade and industry. Japan boldly encourages, and even subsidizes, the import of Indian raw material, like raw jute and raw cotton; but it piles up the Tariff against partly-manufactured goods, and makes it wellnigh prohibitive against fully-manufactured goods. This was clearly shown by the Bengal National Chamber, and they proposed that India should provide herself with a weapon to ward off this attack, by imposing a heavy duty on the export of raw cotton and raw jute to Japan. As India has no monopoly in raw cotton, an export duty on that commodity would avail nothing. But the case of raw jute falls into an altogether different category. Raw jute is an absolute monopoly of Bengal, and consequently any export duty that India chose to impose (limited only by the price of other fibres that might compete as substitutes) would have to be paid by the consumers, unless they resigned the trade, which would cripple their own industries.

Now, if the demand of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale for an export

duty on raw jute were conceded in a scientific and Imperial spirit—taxing only the exports to foreign countries outside the British Empire, and imposing no Excise duty on Indian consumption nor export duty on exports within the Empire—the tax would easily yield a revenue quite sufficient to recoup the Indian Exchequer for the total remission of both the Excise duty on Indian cottons and the import duty on Lancashire and other British cottons. As an old Bengal official, I can remember the time when practically every bale of jute exported from Calcutta was consigned to Dundee or London, and worked up in British mills. Now, after thirty years of British and Indian Free Trade, Germany and France and the United States between them take far more raw jute than we do; and even out of the amount of raw jute that we still take, we re-export considerably more than half, to be worked up in foreign mills by foreign artisans! Of raw jute to the value of $13\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling now exported from Bengal, the protected foreigner now takes (either directly or through British re-export) more than 10 millions sterling! And as he cannot do without that amount of raw jute—his purchases are rapidly increasing every year—without crippling his own industries, it is certain he will pay on that 10 millions sterling whatever export duty the Indian Government may choose to impose within the limits named. And since the aggregate of the duties on Indian and British cotton goods does not amount to more than about a million sterling in import duties and Excise together, the export duty on the raw jute for foreign consumption would easily provide the necessary compensating revenue. And—putting aside for a moment the feelings of the Cobden Club—who would be a penny the worse for that export duty? It would enable the Dundee and Calcutta jute-workers to obtain their raw material somewhat more cheaply than their protected foreign competitors, but that would only be a fair and equitable set-off against the Protection and the subsidies enjoyed by the latter.

And similarly for the moderate import duties on foreign protected manufactures which Tariff Reform would maintain or impose in India for revenue purposes—they would simply equalize matters for the unprotected and unsubsidized Indian and British goods. Nearly all the unofficial speakers in the Calcutta Budget Debate advocated a substantial import duty on imported sugars; and Mr. Carlyle pointed out, on behalf of the Government, that this fact simply indicated the general belief that Indian sugar requires some protection from the beet-sugars of Germany and other protected producers, as well as from the equally protected cane-sugars of Java. Why should a Liberal Government, merely out of regard for the Cobden Club, persist in flouting and coercing such a general belief as this? In this debate even Mr. Meston, the very able Secretary to the Government of India, admitted that the Government, if it had a free hand, might be tempted to undertake a reform of the Indian tariff. He said, in introducing the Bill for the new taxation :

“ This does not mean Tariff Reform. Our schedule is not a particularly good one. In many respects it is out of date. It is full of anomalies, as I suppose most schedules are; but it is also studded with obsolete concessions and with favoured rates which the present state of Indian industries no longer justifies. There is thus a very strong temptation to take the schedule up, go into it scientifically, and overhaul it. That temptation, however, we have resisted. The work must wait for another occasion.”

Of course, we all know when that occasion will arise. Mr. Meston very properly speaks with official reticence—but does anyone really doubt what is the prevailing official opinion in India? It should never be forgotten, in considering the Indian demand for some Protection, that from the very nature of the case—so long as the Liberal Party in England persists in making the fiscal problem a party

question—we can get very little guidance from Anglo-Indian opinion in regard to the relative merits of the three alternatives—Cobdenite Free Trade, Indian Protection, or Tariff Reform. The Civil Service feels itself honourably bound not to fly in the face of the prejudices of their political heads, and the mercantile community, in like manner, though sometimes individually vocal, is naturally compelled by its business obligations to be collectively reticent. Perhaps the only important Anglo-Indian community that is quite unfettered in regard to its collective pronouncements on such a question as the fiscal problem is the body of planters. In the case of the planting community the opportunities for such collective expression of opinion are not so frequent as the meetings of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, but when those opportunities have occurred, it has been found that the planters are as unanimous as the unofficial members of that Council. The annual meeting this year of the United Planters' Association of Southern India was held at Bangalore in the first week of August last—and my Indian readers will not need to be reminded that that Association, with its numerous affiliated bodies, numbers among its members some of the most eminent and representative unofficial Anglo-Indians in India, including some distinguished members and ex-members of the Legislative Council. On August 4, 1910, the Association in general meeting passed, *nemine contradicente*, the following most important resolution :

“That this Association do affirm its complete adherence to the following creed with regard to Imperial Preferential Tariff :

- “(a) We believe that the British-grown *Coffee* will be benefited by a preference in duty, and that it is sufficient in quantity for the consumption of the Empire.
- “(b) We believe that preference in duty in favour of British-grown *Tea* will have the effect of

displacing inferior teas; and, by giving the citizens of the Empire a wholesomer and better beverage, the moral and physical condition of the poorer classes will be improved.

"(c) We believe that a preferential treatment for *Rubber* will, in the near future, prove of inestimable value to an industry in which millions of British capital have been and are being invested.

"(d) We believe that a preferential tariff for *Cinchona Bark* and *Quinine* is a matter of Imperial importance, and should receive the attention of every far-seeing British statesman.

"(e) We believe that preference with *Cocoa* would remove the possibility of such a pitiful scandal as the one with which the names of reputable British firms were recently connected.

"(f) We believe that attention has not been sufficiently called to the danger to Great Britain and the Empire incurred by relying to such a very great extent, on the supply of Cotton from the United States of America, and that a preferential treatment for British-grown *Cotton*, by encouraging adequate production within the Empire, is the only way to safeguard the interests of Lancashire for all time.

"(g) We believe that British-grown *Wheat* is necessary in sufficient quantities to meet the consumption of the Empire, and so save any part of it from the possibility of starvation in time of war, and that the only means to attain this ideal result is by giving British-grown *Wheat* a preference.

"(h) We believe that a complete Imperial preference tariff is essential to the maintenance

of the power and prosperity of the British Empire, and that every effort ought to be made to render the Empire self-supporting.

"(2) We believe that the sentiment that would be engendered by a preferential tariff throughout the Empire would prove to be an Imperial asset and a bond of union of even greater value than the benefits that would arise from its commercial aspect.

"And that this Association do communicate these views to all other Associations, public and private bodies, Members of Parliament and Legislative Councillors throughout the Empire, asking for their opinions and for their active co-operation in furthering the cause of Imperial Tariff Reform."

Now it will be seen from the foregoing that Sir Charles Dilke and Sir William Wedderburn, when they join the Indian National Congress at Allahabad in December next, will be confronted, as Free Traders and representative English Liberals, by an Indian public opinion absolutely solid in condemnation of their preconceived notions of Cobdenite Free Trade for India. What attitude will they adopt as representing the English Liberal Party? In such circumstances, to remain silent or to seek safety in terminological inexactitudes would be dishonest, and, it will be admitted by all, by no means in accord with the reputation of these two distinguished public men. They will speak fearlessly and honestly, but what can they say as Free Traders?

I hope they will not say that the present system, with its import duties on Lancashire cotton-goods and its Excise duties on Indian cotton-goods, must be retained—for it is irritating and injurious to Lancashire, and positively insulting to India. I hope they will not declare that, to obtain the abolition of these duties, India must pay the penalty of abolishing also her duties on Japanese, German,

and other foreign protected and subsidized goods—for this will mean, not merely the loss of revenue, but the flooding of the Indian markets with dumped commodities even more than at present.

It is obvious that they cannot adopt the Indian Protectionist view, and say that the excise duties shall be abolished without any abolition of the import duties which were their *raison d'être*—for that would be, not only most unfriendly to English industry and utterly condemnatory of Free Trade, but would cause widespread ruin and starvation in Lancashire and the other manufacturing districts of England and Scotland.

What, then, remains but Imperial Preference—freedom for Indian manufactures, free admission to British and Colonial goods, with the full and ample compensation to Indian revenues suggested above? I venture to maintain there is no other reasonable or possible alternative.

When Sir William Wedderburn returns to England after presiding over this year's Indian National Congress, he will have an opportunity that might be described as "the chance of a lifetime," for benefiting the material and political interests both of India and of Great Britain. He will have heard an absolutely unanimous demand from the whole of the educated classes of India for the immediate abolition of the Indian excise duties on the products of Indian cotton-mills. He will have felt bound in honour to tell his informants that, unless the present Government can be induced to give up some of their Free Trade prejudices, that immediate abolition is quite impossible, except upon the ruinous terms I have noted above. But if he follows the lead of Mr. Gokhale and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, he will be able to submit proposals to Lord Morley for an export duty on raw jute to Protectionist countries outside the British Empire; and the revenue so obtained will amply suffice, if aided by moderate import duties on the protected and subsidized goods of Japan and Germany and other foreign countries, to provide for the

abolition both of the excise duties on Indian cotton goods and of the import duties on British goods. An Indian fiscal system of that nature would establish something very like Free Trade between India and the rest of the Empire, and could hardly be vetoed by a Free Trade Government—unless their concern for the “poor foreigner” altogether outweighs their regard for what Sir Fleetwood Wilson aptly calls “the common interests of England and India”—unless they prefer to find work for the foreign workman rather than for the British and Indian. And it would establish for India the right, whenever a Tariff Reform Government comes into power, to obtain for her manufactures, and for her products generally, such a substantial preference in the richest markets of the world as would enable her to enter upon a new era of industrial and commercial development.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS OF BRITISH INDIA.*

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

WHEN a British officer who has spent a quarter of a century or so in India essays to make a few remarks on a book to which a very able French Deputy and expert student of colonial administration in the East has devoted twelve years of study, the would-be critic, it is obvious, must for the nonce lay aside his ordinary *métier*. Criticism from him would be folly. Let him sit, rather, "at the feet of Gamaliel." I had a glimpse of M. Chailley-Bert (the name he then bore) at the Quetta Residency in or about 1901, and I journeyed to Europe with him on a *Messageries* boat in May of the same year. I have never forgotten that he strongly recommended to me Comte Alfred de Vigny's "Grandeur et Servitude Militaire." There are few, if any, books which equal this in its power of appeal to human feeling.

At no more opportune moment than the present could M. Chailley's book appear. Mr. Valentine Chirol's articles in the *Times* on "Indian Unrest" are once more reminding the British nation that if they hold in India a mine of wealth, they hold also a volcano. That it is so is in unison with the law of the eternal fitness of things. Some English people are aggrieved, because "Young India" asserts itself.

Viewing the condition of our own agricultural classes in Great Britain at this moment, the condition of those of the Punjab, as depicted in the *Times* of August 6, is very significant. We cannot shut our eyes to the analogy. We created small holdings and peasant proprietors in the Punjab, only to find that the owners now pawn the land as well as the crops, and that the sole person to profit by this effort of Anglo-Indian legislative genius is the accursed

* "Administrative Problems of British India," by Joseph Chailley, Member of the French Chamber of Deputies. (Translated by Sir William Meyer, K.C.I.E.) Macmillan, 1910.

money-lender. The *banya* in India is the counterpart of the Jew in Russia. And then we wonder that the Russians hate the Jews, and resent the intervention of our would-be philanthropic busybodies! The man who fattens on human foibles will also suffer from human caprice and passion, and not, I think, unjustly. British legislation has also developed the small holding and the peasant proprietor, and on August 4, at the meeting of the National Farmers' Union, we learnt from Lord Carrington's lips that Mr. Asquith's Government proposes to "give improved facilities for the establishment of co-operative credit banks for the benefit of agriculture." Lord Carrington may possibly contend that England cannot take a precedent from India. Be that as it may, here is M. Chailley's comment on the subject: "The problem of agricultural banks has for some thirteen years been much before the mind of Anglo-Indian administrators. The idea was started by Sir Frederick Nicholson in Madras, was taken up by Lord Curzon, and, in view of the general indebtedness of the agricultural population, was warmly accepted by a large section of native opinion." Nevertheless, these banks proved a failure. On the other hand, Lord Carrington stated that Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, and even Ireland, had tried these banks with some measure of success, and, unless opposition was met with, he was confident of being able to do something at an early date. Seeing that the Unionist Mr. Jesse Collings has been the great advocate of agricultural banks, this hint of Unionist opposition is a *suggestio falsi*, pardonable presumably in politics if not in polite circles.

The British farmer often wants capital on moderate terms, and, in regard to the source from which he obtains it, he can but rely, not on Indian or Continental precedent, but on his own shrewd common sense. It is evident, from the facts given by M. Chailley, that the agricultural banks in India were not well managed. It is more than probable that the thriftless cultivator, having already mortgaged his holding to the *banya* to the uttermost pice, proceeded to

exploit the Agricultural Credit Bank to the best of his ability.

However, at this moment it is not the agriculturist, but the agitator, who holds the India Office and the Government of India on tenter-hooks. Education and Indian aspirations work hand-in-hand. In M. Chailley's book no two chapters are at this juncture more interesting than VI. and VII. of Book II., which respectively treat of Education and the Share of Indians in Administration. With these two problems, again, is closely associated that of Social and Religious Reform, which is treated of in Chaps. V. and IX. of Book I. I have never forgotten that within a few months of my landing in India, in March, 1879, I met a Hindu police officer who made no secret of the fact that he had discarded all faith in the creed and religious practice of his fathers. He was, in short, a Rationalist at heart, though I have no doubt that outwardly he conformed to the religious rites in the observance of which he had in his youth been brought up. I believe myself that the effect of Christian doctrine and Western culture on the native of India has been, not to win him over to the Church of Christ, but to induce a religious belief which is a compromise between the traditions of the Hindu mythology and the principles of the Christian theology. If anyone chooses to consult the "Life and Letters of Max Müller" (Longmans, 1903), Vol. i., pp. 348, 349, Vol. ii., pp. 411-419, and Appendix A, he will see how ardently Max Müller sought to win the leaders of the Brahmo-Somâj over to a fuller profession of Christianity, but in vain. I cannot recapitulate here the grounds on which Mozoomdar, Satyendranâth Tagore, and other votaries of Brâhmaism, decided that between Christianity and Brâhmaism there was an impassable gulf. Kipling's verse—

"For East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet"—

is quoted *ad nauseam*, and it would be easy enough to

show how they are day by day drawing nearer one to the other ; but when it came to merging Brâhmaism into Christianity, the elements refused to blend. Christianity was only acceptable to the leading lights of the Brahmo-Somâj as "interpreted in India through Indian antecedents and the Indian medium of thought" (Max Müller, Vol. ii., p. 416), and that Christianity was not prepared to accept. We must presume that the Nestorian doctrine of early days had some fascination for the Asiatic mind, for it won its way in Central Asia and India. Modern Christianity seems to appeal neither to the Mid nor the Far East. Japan has rejected it. My own opinion is that Western social and religious thought will in time work in India an upheaval, the nature of which is not as yet foreseen. The Arya-Somâj has admittedly taken a very prominent part in the recent disturbances in India (*vide* "Indian Unrest," *Times*, August 6 and 8, 1910). Now, in view of the fact that Lord Lawrence in 1868 said that "among the dangers which menace the stability of British rule in India, few were greater than those arising from the ignorance of the people," we may well ask how an education system which has merely turned out a few millions of malcontents can be held to benefit India. In August last a writer in the *Daily Telegraph*—certainly intelligent, but not, in a political sense, provident—advocates the use of the Roman character for printing all the thousand and one languages and dialects of British and Native India. If our motto be "Divide et impera," let us beware of any such idea. We want no standardization of dialects in India at present. Any more deliberate flying in the face of Divine edict, as enunciated in the history of the Tower of Babel, I cannot conceive. The Book of Genesis gives no countenance to the conception of a standard script or character calculated to facilitate the intercourse of native with native and native with European. During the coming half-century our rule in India will be easier, if we follow the good advice of the Book of Genesis. The visionary of the *Daily Telegraph*

is a heedless but not harmless enthusiast. One common language has been the policy of Russia in recent years, as of Rome in the days of the Empire.*

The picture drawn by M. Chailley, in Chapter VII., of the future that awaits the Administration is one which I can but commend to those in whose hands the future government of India lies. It furnishes food for much serious thought. It is clear that we must contend with democratic agitation as voiced by the "Young India," which we ourselves have educated, and that too actuated by a spirit of fanaticism. We can control democracy and fanaticism, if our Indian Princes and Indian Army remain loyal. The most conspicuous example of the Progressive Indian Prince at the present time is the Gaikwar of Baroda.

* "Avec le joug de sa domination, Rome imposa toujours celui de sa langue." Capéfigue, "Invasion des Normands, etc.," p. 285.

ENGLISH EDUCATION AND INDIAN ETHICS.

BY JAMES KENNEDY, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

THERE is nothing upon which the Indian politician lays more stress than upon English education; he considers it the charter of his political enfranchisement, the key to power; and it is the only department of the Government service which he is willing to leave entirely in the hands of the English. "You conquered India not by force, but by science and by craft," so spoke a young Bengali undergraduate the other day to his Cambridge tutor; "and you beat the Afghans, although they are stronger-bodied than you. Now, thanks to your Government, we, too, have learnt the trick, and we can do it for ourselves."

The average Englishman also lays stress upon the political effects of English education. He thinks it a political danger, a medicine which is heady and intoxicating, a poison too strong for those who imbibe it. Lord Ellenborough long ago denounced it as the surest means of putting an end to British rule in India. The connection between education and the recent movements of sedition in Bengal has been admitted in Parliament, and the Government of India has appointed a special Minister of Education.

But of the million or so of Indians who have some knowledge of English, only a certain number are active politicians. The wily Brahmans of Poona who have never forgotten their ancient supremacy, and the acute lawyers of Calcutta who hope to supplant the men of the sword, do not fairly represent the mass or the interests of educated natives. Indeed, their countrymen are often their severest critics. And among these there is a large school of Conservatives which deprecates English education, not upon political, but upon moral grounds. "What is your opinion of English education?" I once asked a distinguished native scholar.

"It teaches boys," he answered, "to say 'Good-morning' and 'Good-evening,' and to despise their parents;" and my friend was far from singular in his opinion. The decline of parental authority is frequently lamented, and I have been informed on excellent authority that parents sometimes send their sons to England because they are too turbulent to be kept at home. Often the objection to English education takes a much wider ground, which is well summed up by a Madras Pundit in a dialogue with an imaginary English politician. "We have," he cries, "a civilization older than yours, a philosophy which is more spiritual, a language of which the very syllables are sacred. And by way of salvation you offer us your shallow rationalism, and bribe us with material utilities." What the Madras Pundit says, the Pundits of Benares have been saying these last fifty years.

Mr. Alston's little book on "Education and Citizenship in India"* comes, therefore, at an opportune moment. Mr. Alston was for sixteen months Professor in Elphinstone College, Bombay, and is now a Cambridge tutor. He has devoted much attention to the relations between European and non-European races; he writes with sympathy and judgment, and his account of his own experiences as a teacher in an Indian college is excellent. He touches on a great variety of topics—the environment of the student, the condition of the people, the nature of the higher education given, its defects and proposed remedies, the moral and political results. On all these points he has collected a great variety of (sometimes contradictory) opinions. The treatment of the connection between politics and education is the thinnest part of the book; indeed, it seems to have been added as an afterthought.

The connection between politics and education is a fascinating subject, but it can only be treated as a part of a much bigger question. Before we could discuss it at all, we

* "Education and Citizenship in India," by L. Alston. Longmans, Green and Co., London.

must analyze the types and causes of the present agitation, and say how much of it is due to old ambitions and antipathies, which have acquired fresh life by adopting European methods of organization and propagandism, how much to the hostility of race, how much to those causes of political excitement which are stirring in Asia. And when we have thus limited the sphere of our inquiries, we must determine how much is attributable to an application of the lessons of English history, or a crude adoption of English political ideas, and how much to the anarchic spirit of modern literature which animates disastrously the youth of Eastern Europe. "The difficulties that you have in India," said an Austrian professor to the present writer, "are precisely those we have in Austria." And in Italy and Russia they are still greater.

The moral effect of English education is a question of wider and more enduring importance; it can be treated by itself with little reference, or none, to political controversies, and it can be discussed in a less heated atmosphere. In the following paper I shall confine myself entirely to it, eschewing, as far as possible, all mention of politics.

To the generation which first introduced English education into India the question would have sounded strangely; whatever the political effect might be, the moral result must certainly be good. The immoralities of popular Hinduism were glaring in the light of day. Indian morality was at its lowest ebb, and every observer drew a gloomy picture of it. The moral behaviour of the English in England, or in India, might not be perfect; but English literature at least was clean, and healthy, and inspiring. The few Englishmen who understood native ideals, and knew the people best, were overborne. Macaulay's brilliant—if often fallacious—rhetoric carried conviction with it. At this time of day one must grant that if the Orientalists had had their way seventy years ago, education in India would have made but little progress. And I shall attempt to show that the moral benefits of English education have been

great, although not exactly what its promoters expected. "How differently we think now of Macaulay's brilliant minute which seemed so convincing at the time!" So one of the wisest of Indian administrators once said.

The subject has two main divisions. We may consider the training which young Indians receive at school and college in its moral aspects, and we may trace the effect of English ideals upon the more or less Anglicized Indian community. The former subject is simple, and can be considered by itself; the latter is complicated and difficult, involving a consideration of many other agencies.

I.

Higher education in India (and higher education in India has become nearly synonymous with English education) has long been a subject of criticism and discussion. College Professors and Principals have said their say; a Government Commission reported on the subject, and Lord Curzon instituted some notable reforms in the teeth of a vehement outcry. The evils of the present system are obvious enough. Education in India is purely intellectual, and so far as Government institutions are concerned, it is necessarily secular. Without a quickening of the intellect a people cannot advance; but in itself the training of the intellect has little moral value. It may turn out a clever rogue equally with a patriot or a saint. And the complaint is that under our system the moral safeguards are wanting. Our system is calculated, so its critics say, to produce both conceit and ignorance, an undisciplined mind, and a temper impatient of rebuke or control. That in many cases these charges are well founded cannot be denied. On the other hand, these faults are the faults of the system; they are not inherent in the soil. Indian youths start with a docile mind; they are eager to learn, and amenable to influence.

Let us look for a moment at what educational theories require before we pass to the system actually in vogue. All theories of education, whether English, Mahomedan, or

Hindu, agree in this that they make the formation of character their chief object, although they differ in the character aimed at. Among Hindus the higher education is wholly religious, or subservient to religion; and few are privileged to receive it. Sacred tradition is its heritage, a sacred language is its medium; it is enforced by the awful authority of a spiritual father; devotion and reverence are its result. Mahomedans make a sacred book the basis of their teaching, and although a distinction is drawn between sacred and profane, religion permeates their teaching of law, philosophy, and history. With both Hindus and Mahomedans authority—the authority of a teacher or a book—is the backbone of the educational system. Our English system makes less of authority, more of personal influence; but the formation of character is equally its end. Our public schools aim at the production of a particular kind of manliness which we call English, and the process is continued at the Universities. The result is a product peculiarly our own—a result which other nations envy. "Our Universities turn out specialists," so a distinguished Viennese Professor lately said to the present writer. "Your Universities do not turn out specialists, but they turn out what we cannot do; they turn out cultured men." Authority and personal influence, then, are the most important elements in education, and to a large extent they are wanting in India.

The unreformed London University is the prototype of the Indian Universities, of which there are five, one for each major province, and each University deals with a heterogeneous mass of students. These Universities are independent of Government, although under Government regulation, and they are for the most part not teaching but examining bodies. They exist for the purpose of giving diplomas.

Now, the native demand for English education is purely utilitarian; it is not a demand for knowledge in itself, or culture, or science, but for the means of earning a livelihood. A diploma is the surest road to employment in the

Government service or advancement at the Bar ; but the competition is great, the examinations are stiff, and the passes few. "It takes 24,000 candidates at matriculation to secure 11,000 passes; it takes 7,000 candidates at the intermediate examination to secure 2,800 passes; and it takes 4,750 candidates for the B.A. degree to secure 1,900 passes. There are 18,000 students at college in order to supply an annual output of 1,935 graduates." Thus every step of the student's progress is marked by the failure of his fellows. It is true, of course, that a large number of those who go up for matriculation, or even attend the University for a year or two, do not intend to persevere ; they find employment in subordinate posts under Government, on the railways, and so forth. But it is also true that many of the failures cannot find employment, and form discontented material ready to the agitator's hand. The University system of examinations on the one hand, and the purely utilitarian nature of the demand on the other, govern the whole course of education. The intellectual evils are obvious. The memory is exclusively exercised ; all training is resolved into a system of cram ; textbooks are learnt by heart without understanding, and everything is neglected which does not tell in the examination-room. A Bengali graduate of Calcutta came to a German Mathematical Professor in London for admission to his class. "When I asked him mathematical formulæ, he could repeat them pat off ; when I asked him what they meant he was dumb-founded. Go away, I said, and come back in six months when you understand what these formulæ mean." This habit of cram follows the student after he has left the college. Most of the Indian students in the Temple and Lincoln's Inn take up the English law of real property—a subject utterly useless to them in after life—rather than Hindu and Mahomedan law, which they will have to practice ; and they do so for the reason that there are easy cram-books of the one and not of the other.

Along with cram and want of understanding there goes

ignorance of what is at their own door. Mahomedan youths are less exposed to this than Hindus, since their religious training obliges them to have a certain knowledge of Arabic or the vernacular; and they have never altogether lost the traditions of their own literature. But among Hindu youths we sometimes meet with cases of astonishing ignorance. Sir C. Lyall said before a Government Commission that he asked one of the Bengali clerks in the Secretariat of the Government of India to read a Bengali petition, and found that he could not read his own language. A Hindu student at the Temple, the son of a Kayasth pleader of Delhi, told his tutor the other day that he had never heard of the Hindu joint family.

Industry and perseverance are the two good habits which the University system fosters. Conceit is natural to youth, and the possession of knowledge laboriously acquired, and supposed to be of great value, is apt to give the University undergraduate an overweening sense of his own importance. In itself this is of comparatively little moment, but it is too often accompanied by a want of balance and discipline, which is revolutionary and fatal.

The habit of indiscipline and contempt for authority begins at school. The schoolmasters in the secondary schools (where alone English is taught) are for the most part natives, themselves the creatures of our system. Their livelihood frequently depends upon their popularity, and their efforts at discipline are rarely backed by parental authority or public opinion. Schoolmastering as a profession is far behind law or Government employment in popular esteem, and although many schoolmasters are excellent men, they have more than a fair proportion of firebrands among them. They themselves occasionally set an example of insubordination to their pupils. I read some time ago of an education inspector in Bengal who threatened to report badly of a school he visited. When he left, the schoolmaster and the pupils turned out and pelted him with brickbats and mud. The boycott of

English goods in Eastern Bengal was chiefly carried out by riotous schoolboys, for whom their schoolmasters and parents should have been responsible. And when the student leaves school or college he cannot easily divest himself of the evil habits he has acquired. He has been nurtured in inexperience and fed upon dreams; he believes himself to be an exceptional being, and he asserts the independence of his character by the rudeness of his behaviour. Unfortunately, we have had too many examples of this—one will suffice. Not long ago a youthful graduate came to consult his official adviser, one of the most learned of Orientalists, and most sympathetic of men. The advice which the student received was apparently not to his liking. "I perceive, sir," so he addressed the professor on departing—"I perceive that you are a man of small understanding," and he walked off, proud of his English and thinking himself a very fine fellow.

But to return to the schoolboy. When the student leaves school, he goes to a college where the University curriculum is taught. Indian colleges are either maintained by the State or by municipal and district boards, or they are private institutions usually although not always aided by the State. In the colleges under official management the teaching is entirely secular, but these form less than 30 per cent. of the total number. The rest have entire liberty as to what they teach. It would seem, then, that there is a wide field for putting into practice various conceptions of education and for the diversity of methods. The Bible is read in mission colleges; the Mahomedan students of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, are obliged to attend the public prayers, and to observe the rules of their religion; the Arya Samaj teaches its own peculiar tenets, and even Government teachers sometimes employ their leisure, it is said, in teaching the Puranas or the Koran. So far so good. But the University system and the utilitarian demand govern the whole course of education, and are apt to frustrate these well-meant efforts. The student is little

open to other impressions when his whole mind is taken up with an approaching examination. An English school-master once tried to convince his pupils that the earth goes round the sun. "Now do you believe it?" he asked. "Yes, as long as we are in the class-room."

Personal influence is the most efficient agency in forming moral habits. But in India there are peculiar difficulties in bringing personal influence to bear. Indian students are usually poor; they live by themselves, often in slums, and sometimes in places of the worst description. As they are drawn from different classes and different castes, the circle of their college friends is small. Thus they live exposed to all the evil attractions of the town, while the influence of the English professor scarcely goes beyond the class-room. The scarcity of English professors, if it were nothing else, makes this almost inevitable. "In a typical case three missionaries have to work a college and school of one thousand students."

The residential system is obviously one main remedy; it alone affords the teacher an opportunity of coming into close contact with his pupil. Sir Syad Ahmed saw this when he founded the M.A.O. College at Aligarh, and its success has amply justified his wisdom. Students from distant native States, and even from beyond the bounds of India, have been attracted to it. The success of the M.A.O. College is exceptional; indeed, the college has had two great advantages in its favour—it has been singularly fortunate in its principals and professors, and its students all, or almost all, belong to one religious community. But the hostel system is rapidly gaining ground everywhere; out of 18,000 students at art colleges 4,000 live in hostels, and it is the most hopeful element in our recent educational policy.

"If we consider," says Sir T. Morison, "what English education in India really connotes, we are astonished that, with means so imperfect, it has already achieved so much." "It is a legitimate and sufficient ground for congratulation

that [the Indian student] possesses a much greater sense of public duty than his parents; that in the administration of justice, for which they usually took bribes, his hands are clean; and that upon him depend the reforms in religious belief and social usage which are troubling the hitherto still waters of Indian society." Sir T. Morison's testimony to the character of the M.A.O. students will be confirmed by those who know them, and is in keeping with that of the principals of some other colleges. Despite all disadvantages, it cannot be doubted that our better colleges turn out a large proportion of excellent specimens. Even in the poorer colleges indiscipline is not so serious as in some foreign Universities. Italian professors have been known to head the political *émeutes* of their students, and an Italian youth murdered his teacher because he failed to pass an examination. I have not heard that any Bengali youth has cut his master's throat. But Indian colleges have to contend with the patent evils of the Universities. They do little for the intellect, and they encourage an easy self-satisfaction and contentment with the minimum of knowledge which will gain a pass. Outside the class-room the student is apt to find his chief amusement in heady political babble. This is the besetting infirmity of Indian students in England—this combined with most ingenious attempts to circumvent the University statutes. I was once present at a public meeting when an essay was read by an Englishman on popular vernacular literature. The room was full of Hindus, and the only contribution they could make to the subsequent discussion was an attack on the Indian Government for not preventing malaria. It would have been more to the point if they had attacked it for not giving them a rudimentary knowledge of their own literature.

II.

When we turn from the moral training of Indian youth to the moral advance of educated Indian society and the

part which English education and English ideals play in it, we are confronted by a number of complicated considerations very difficult to disentangle. There is the question how far old ideals have been revived and how far they have been modified by contact with the West? What advance has been made in practical morality? to what is it due? and what agencies have produced it? Some of these matters I have discussed elsewhere at length, and I need not repeat what I have already said regarding the part taken by Christianity or the British administration in the Indian Renaissance.* The part which English education plays is inferior to both of these, and I shall limit my discussion to two of its aspects, and chiefly with reference to Hindus. The Mahomedans require separate treatment.

I start with the assumption that the educated classes have made great moral progress under British rule. Native morality was at its lowest ebb when the English appeared upon the scene. A long course of anarchy and lawlessness had disorganized society; the family and the caste alone preserved it from moral dissolution. Outside the bounds of the family and caste no moral obligations were recognized. "From this attachment [of the Hindus] to caste arises that which they entertain for their customs, which may be said to constitute their whole police," so the Abbé Dubois says. And Sleeman, writing thirty years later, remarks: "There are in India few native chiefs who have any great feelings of sympathy even with the inhabitants of their own territories beyond their own family or clan . . . and no instance can, I believe, be found of one extending his sympathies or his charities to the people of any other territory."

It would be strange if a century of peace and orderly government had not favoured the revival of a loftier and wider morality, or if this revival did not chiefly show itself in the classes most amenable by education or tradition to

* In two articles on "The Tendencies of Modern Hinduism" in *The East and the West* for 1905.

the stimulus of Western ideals. Among the masses the growth of morality is necessarily slow; they are little open to foreign influence apart from the action of the Government upon them, and it cannot be said that they have attained to anything more than a veneer of respectability. The more the upper classes advance in morality, the more they are separated from the vulgar. The advance in question takes various directions, but its general tendency is twofold. We find a revivification of the old ideals modified by the introduction of new elements, and we find an enlargement of view; the question, "Who is my neighbour?" obtains a wider significance. There is a groping after a wider moral and social unity.

This advance extends far beyond the classes which are Anglicized. The most prominent leaders of the new thought in Upper India, although they have felt the influence of English ideals, have often been very imperfectly acquainted with the English language; Sir Syad Ahmed could not speak it. The love of one's own people and the love of one's country are widely spread at the present day; and many men, whether Anglicized or not, are eager to do what they can for the benefit of their fellows. Their work is often genuine; it is not done for reward, or advertised for public applause, or confined to their own class. I know a retired post-office official who employs his time in starting evening schools for artisans. These philanthropic or patriotic efforts are novel. The philanthropy which is native to India found its expression in the planting of trees and the construction of tanks and wells for travellers, or among certain sects in the provision of hospitals for animals. The motives were in every case religious, and the benefits intended were material. The new philanthropy has a higher aim; it is not religious in inception, and it is the outcome of contact with Western ideals, and mainly due to education. But if we wish to study the effects of English training and English literature by themselves, we shall study them best, not in their wider ramifications, but in the more or less

Anglicized class with whom English is the *lingua franca*. These men belong chiefly to the professional classes; they are Government officials, lawyers, doctors, schoolmasters, and journalists, but more especially lawyers; classes of our own creation for whom we have formed both a medium and a career. Their ways of life and thought are determined in the main by two great factors: they are bound by the rules of their occupation or profession; and also, although to a less degree, by the example of the Presidency towns. Their professions and occupations being largely borrowed from the English, their rules of conduct are formed upon the same model: with the one they have taken over the other. And next to this comes the influence of the Presidency towns, of which I shall say something, as it is frequently overlooked.

Both Anglo-Indians and natives may be sharply classified under two divisions—those who live in Presidency towns, and those who live outside their radius. It is rare to find anyone, English or Indian, equally conversant with both, and thus we constantly meet with an apparent conflict of testimony and experience. The native inhabitants of a Presidency town lived under English law when other laws obtained for the rest of India. They have long enjoyed all or almost all the legal privileges of the English resident; they are in contact with every class of Europeans, merchants, missionaries, sailors, and the only Government they have practically known is that of the law courts. In short, they live in an atmosphere wholly English, so far as such an atmosphere can exist outside England. Thus they are Anglicized to an extent unknown elsewhere. It is in these towns that the professional classes first sprang up, and the leaders are still to be found there. Outside these towns until recent times the English-educated natives were comparatively rare. They lived in a totally different atmosphere; they were isolated among a population which had little sympathy with Western ways, and almost the only Englishmen they met were English officials. These little

bands of educated natives were the nuclei through which the Presidency towns made their influence felt. It is in the Presidency towns that we must seek for typical examples of Anglicization.

It is evident, then, that beside the two elemental factors (by which I mean the British administration and Christianity), we have several subordinate agencies to take account of before we can estimate aright the influence of English thought and education on the moral character of Young India. But before we analyze that influence, we must first define what the moral characteristics of Young India are—a question which is hard to answer.

The number of natives who have some knowledge of English is about a million. They are scattered over a country about two-thirds the size of Europe, and they are found in numbers in widely distant towns, and there only. They belong to different and rival creeds; they have had every variety of racial and social origin. The degree of their acquaintance with English and with English ways is as varied as their origin. We have a fair number who are completely Anglicized, and except for natural temperament, and, perhaps, some inherited prejudices and instincts, differ in nothing from English gentlemen. There is the native Christian pastor who declared that he was merely a Scotchman with a black face, and there is the Babu who adorns his speech with grotesque absurdities as a savage decks himself with European clothes. It is scarcely possible to find any common term which will embrace them all.

We must therefore limit our inquiry to that highly educated section in which alone the full effect of English education can be studied. When this class was small it was fairly homogeneous. I remember a Mahomedan gentleman saying to me more than thirty years ago: "I consider a Cingalese educated at an English University much more of kin to me than my ignorant fellow co-religionists." Certainly no Mahomedan would speak so now. Dr. Bhandarkar says: "In my early days all classes joined in a public

movement. Now Hindus, Mahomedans, and Parsees, act independently, as do even separate castes." With the rapid enlargement of this educated class, disruptive forces have also grown; class selfishness and personal jealousies have become prominent; and the indiscipline of the schools bears evil fruit in after-life. Moreover, the fundamental cleavages between the Indian communities begin to make themselves felt as the circle of educated men in each is enlarged. They are no longer obliged to go beyond their co-religionists, or even their caste, for congenial companionship. Despite these and other drawbacks, the highly educated class has certain things in common; it has a common language, a common acquaintance with Western ideals, and a far more enlightened morality than its precursors had. It is this last point with which we are here concerned. "It is something to be able to say of the generation brought up under the English system that if not in an intellectual, at any rate in a moral, sense, it favourably distinguishes itself from its predecessors. It is this moral side of the character of the Neo Hindu which promises so much." So says Vambéry.

It is universally admitted that in the matter of honesty and integrity the Government officials of the new school are superior to the old; in other words, we are passing at a bound from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, from the days of Pepys to the days of King George.* But the moral progress of Young India is, perhaps, most clearly seen in the enlargement of its ethical outlook and the consciousness of a larger sphere of moral obligation; the caste or the family are no longer the limit of duty; and

* As judges and lawyers the new officials are undoubtedly superior. But lawyers and law, as practised in our law courts, are our own creation. Whether the new officials are superior to the old in administrative and executive work remains to be seen. They are in many cases much less in touch with the masses, and they have not the traditions of rule, or the arts of management with which the "old hand" was familiar. Solomon's judgment, a legend famous throughout the East, is a type of what the "old hand" loved and the populace admired. The "new hand" is incapable of it; his native wit is over-burdened by *kanun*.

there is a dawning sense of something greater, a groping after the idea of humanity. If I were to consider only those sections which are profoundly influenced by religion or Christianity, I should say much more. I should dwell on the deeper sense of personality, the greater prominence given to the active virtues, and the closer connection between ethical theories and moral practices. I confine myself here to what seems common to the whole.

The advance in general morality is best illustrated by a recent incident. A century ago the Abbé Dubois was able to write: "The Brahman lives for himself; the feelings of commiseration and pity, as far as respects the sufferings of others, never enter into his heart. He will see an unhappy being perish on the road, or even at his own gate, if belonging to another caste, and will not stir to help him to a drop of water." What Dubois said of the Brahman a century ago might still be said of the masses. A lady travelling in the Himalayas found by the wayside a man who had fallen and broken his leg; she wished to convey him to the nearest hospital, but her porters, Hill Rajputs, refused to touch or carry him. There we have the old morality. And now turn to the new. Some workmen in Calcutta who had gone down a well were being asphyxiated. A Bengali Babu happened to be present, and volunteered to rescue them. He descended the well, and lost his life—a sacrifice to his spirit of humanity. And his fellow-countrymen in Calcutta showed their approval by erecting a monument to his memory.

Let me linger a moment on this incident, for it is the most striking example I can give of the old spirit and the new. Hinduism, on the one hand, looks upwards to the skies and downwards to the ground; it dares not only to comprehend, but to embrace the Incomprehensible, to become one with the Absolute; and it likewise condescends to things abject and mean, and includes the insect and the reptile in its compassion and its scheme of life. On the other hand, it fortifies itself in exclusiveness; it surrounds

itself with ceremonial laws and with elaborate rules of purity and uncleanness. There is no greater source of pollution than one's fellow man; and I knew an old gentleman who, after visiting any European, to recover his lost purity, rubbed himself for three hours with cow dung. To become a god is the Hindu ideal, and humanity is contemptible. Thus Hinduism is the paradise of the idealist philosopher, whose soul aspires to be not only a part of, but coequal with the cosmic All; and it is the paradise of the half-developed man who considers that besides himself there is nothing worthy in creation. And the Western spirit is the negation of all this; it neither soars so high nor dives so low; its essence lies in the value of humanity, of the individual, the particular. Hinduism in contact with the Western spirit must widen its borders, and reconsider its position. It must find an ethical answer to the question, who is my neighbour?

It is in this enlargement of the moral horizon that I find the chief result of English education and English ideals. English education seems to me to work in a twofold way—the one mainly intellectual, destructive, and revolutionary; the other elevating and moral. That English education must destroy old prejudices and beliefs was obvious from the first. Macaulay declared that “no Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion.” If the Indian youth grows up without discipline, and despising authority, there is little in modern literature to correct him. Modern English literature is apt to set authority aside, to seek after novelty, to lightly question everything. Mr. Paranjpye mentions Tyndall, Huxley, Spencer, Mill, Morley, and Clifford, as the favourite authors among educated Indians—authors who are agnostics and assailants of Christianity. Herbert Spencer is the chief favourite with Indian politicians; and revolutionary methods attract Young Indians. “That was a very interesting lecture on the French Revolution,” a Young Indian in England lately said to his Professor;

"might I ask, sir, if the Revolution was successful?"—a question by no means easy to answer, and asked not without an *arrière pensée*.

But although the favourite English authors of Young India may create a disbelief in Christianity, they do not at the present day make the majority of young Indians agnostics. So at least it would seem, if one may judge by the non-existence of Indian agnostic literature, and by the ways of Indian youths in England. I believe that these latter, although incurious about Christianity, are interested in their own religion; they are always ready to discuss it; and some Mahomedans, at any rate, try to keep their own fasts and festivals.* Hinduism has abounded from the time of the Vedas in men who mocked at the Brahmans and the gods, and has always provided a niche for the sceptic; the earliest school of Hindu philosophy was atheist. The vanity of idols is a familiar truth, and caste has been more fiercely and effectively assailed in former days than now. All that the religious reformer has ever succeeded in doing was to add a new caste to the old ones. Although, therefore, the effect of English teaching and literature was revolutionary in religious and social matters as long as it was novel, it appears to be so no longer. It modifies, but it does not destroy.

And this leads me to my second point: the effect of English education in creating a reaction and a desire for the reunion of society on a broader, indigenous basis.

Both the reaction and the desire for a greater synthesis are best seen in the domain of religion, and they are the more interesting because it is only in the religious sphere that Hinduism has shown any original or constructive power. What I had to say on this subject I have already said in my paper on the "Tendencies of Modern Hinduism," previously referred to. But the class of educated Hindus which takes an active interest in religious

* Our calendar puts them out. They sometimes feast when they ought to fast, and *vice versa*.

and philosophical questions is limited; the majority are intent on other objects. And with them the reaction takes the form, not of a purification and enlargement of the old ideals, but a vague exaltation of ancient India, or of some particular period of Indian history. Usually they go back to some mythical or legendary time—the age of the *Rishis*, or the days of the Great War. Bengalis appropriate to themselves the doings of the old Rajputs and the eulogies of Tod, although the Rajputs never settled in Bengal; and Parsis, who had nothing to do with him, holds up Akbar as a model to the English Government, while the English Government employs among its higher officials as great a proportion of natives as Akbar ever employed Hindus.

On the other hand there is stirring a desire for some larger basis of union. This expresses itself in various ways. We find new sects forming, and conjoined with these, or distinct from them, attempts to remove the restrictions of caste, or to enlarge the caste group. Thus there is a movement in Bengal to remodel all the castes upon the fourfold division of Manu.

Among Mahomedans the Western spirit works with greater freedom whenever they are able to throw off the exclusiveness they have learnt from the Hindus. They have more in common with the West, and they remember the great days of their history, when the Moslems of Cordova and Baghdad appreciated and preserved Western learning and philosophy. Thus in matters of religion they incline partly to rationalism, partly to a removal of the religious excrescences which have grown up or been borrowed from their Hindu neighbours. At the same time, they are more inclined to pay attention to religion in its ethical aspect.

Religion and nationality are synonymous terms throughout the East. It was natural, therefore, that the novel influences should first show their effect in the religious sphere. But since Oriental society is based upon religion,

it was equally natural that these influences should affect the social structure. From the reformation of society, the movement has now extended to politics and the State. To quote our Madras philosopher: "When religious reformers of Hinduism appeared, you English were delighted; when they took to social reform, you patted them on the back; but now that they have taken to politics, you don't know whether to bless or to curse them. But it is all one and the same process." And our friend the Pundit is right.

The religious movement is the profoundest and most interesting of the three. But although the religious movement may excite general interest, it embraces only a section of the educated community. The demand for social reform apart from religion is even more limited. In the sense here meant it applies to only a few. There are, of course, many social reforms to which Hinduism readily adapts itself, if circumstances so require. Almost every caste permits its members to travel to Europe upon payment of a nominal penalty; in fact, most restrictions can be abrogated if they stand in the way of gain. When the youths of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, began to come to England to study for the English Bar, the Kayasth lawyers of Aligarh and Delhi promptly altered the rules of their caste, in order that their sons might do the same. "We cannot permit," said they, "the Mahomedans to get ahead of us." I once asked the Jain owner of an indigo factory how he could pursue his occupation with a good conscience, seeing that the manufacture of indigo involved the death of thousands of worms. "True," he answered, "I kill thousands daily. My sin is very great; but what can I do? I have to live." The rules regarding food are equally flexible. "Hinduism," said a Mahomedan gentleman to me, "What is Hinduism? It lies at the bottom of a cooking-pot." But there have always been schools of Hinduism which permitted the freest use of meat and drink, only under some restrictions as to time and

place. If Hinduism is in the cooking-pot, the majority of highly-educated natives are bad Hindus. With regard to marriage, Hinduism is less flexible, because the necessity for change is less felt. Various attempts have been made to popularize the remarriage of widows among the educated Hindus, and the advocates for the change have based their proposals upon the ground of humanity—a principle which is English and not Hindu. But the reformers have met with little success. The chief result has been an exaltation of the Hindu ideal of the sacredness of marriage.* But none of these things affect Hinduism vitally. When we talk of the social movement we usually mean the abolition of caste or the fusion of several castes in one.

It is in this case that ideas borrowed from English ways and modes of thought show their influence most directly, and come into immediate conflict with the fundamental instincts of Hindu society. For Hindu society is a theocracy founded upon divinely-ordered inequality—a characteristic which it shares to some extent with every polytheist nation, and which embodies the profoundest instincts of primitive communities. The abolition of caste has often been attempted upon religious grounds. Among Young Indians the ethical ideas of the West take, to some extent, the place of religion;—they acknowledge, and to some extent they feel, the force of the Western conception of humanity. They are too apt to honour it with the intellect alone, but it is something gained if homage be done to the idea.

Since, then, the attempts at a wider reunion upon the basis of religious or social reformation are partial and incomplete, there arises the question whether the general attitude of the Oriental mind towards European ways may not prove the widest bond of union. The question of race

* Many castes permit their widows to remarry. Any caste can do so if it chooses to sink in the social scale; but the present tendency among the lower castes is to rise in the social scale by a stricter observance of the rules of purity.

or rather not of race, but of Oriental versus European, for the races of India are many, is at the bottom of most political thinking. Indian politicians relegate religious and social questions and reforms to the background; "India first and our differences afterwards" is the commonplace of the Young Bengali—a convenient argument, of course, when he tries to convert the Mahomedan minority. Into that argument I shall not follow him. I am content to show that the desire to reform society upon a broader basis has followed a threefold course.

The chief part, then, which education plays in the general renaissance of India is the elevation and enlargement of the moral horizon. Morality of the Western type plays a larger part in the lives and thoughts of educated Indians than it formerly did. Educated natives have reached, or are approaching, the second of the three reverences enjoined on Wilhelm Meister—the reverence for one's equal. They have not yet reached the third—reverence for one's inferior. Democrats when they claim equality with Englishmen, they are aristocrats at heart.

In taking stock of the moral advance of Young India, it would be necessary to dwell on certain evils of the time. Materialism and selfishness are too common; they prompted the ill-fated "Gains of Learning" Bill, and are prominent in the present political agitation. Independence of character is confounded with bad manners, and good feeling and good taste are frequently offended. With the decline of parental authority there is possibly some decline of family affection. But these evils are not the fruit of education, and they may be counteracted by it.

Hindus are by nature a kindly and amiable people, sensitive and easily excited, pliant and tenacious. Every caste and every little community has its own especial virtues and vices, which are often stereotyped in popular rhymes. The Brahman is cunning and greedy; the Kayasth is fawning; the Rajput masterful and violent. According to the divine song, the *Bhavagat Gita*, rever-

ence to the King and the Brahman, and obedience to the laws of caste—that is to say, of the little community in which one is placed—form the whole duty of the ordinary man. And these duties are the only duties recognized by the masses, if we include among these personal loyalty to their employer or devotion to a leader. For the masses the abolition of caste would be morally disastrous, if it were not accompanied by a great religious revolution.

Among educated Hindus these maxims are relegated to the background. They draw their moral inspiration from a commingling of Western ethics with the higher esoteric morality they find in their sacred writings. I possessed a book of Hindu devotions, which consisted of passages taken indiscriminately from the Stoic, Marcus Aurelius, and the Vedas. Thomas à Kempis has many admirers. But all men are not religious. For the majority of Young Indians rules which regulate their professional conduct—rules founded upon English practices—apparently serve to determine the moral standard; to some extent they take the place of the laws of caste. Beyond this, whatever vague ethical notions Young India possesses are probably due in great measure to English education.

The Royal Governor of Virginia in 1688 declared education to be the root of all evil. The Hollanders forbade—perhaps, they still forbid—the teaching of Dutch; the French in Algeria exclude French-speaking Arabs from the Bar, and practically confine them to a single profession—that of medicine. The English alone have endeavoured to bring the Oriental into perfect contact with the learning, the traditions, and the morals of the West. The attempt was a generous one. The Oriental did not ask for it but our consciences demanded it. And now that the Oriental desires it, what will he make of it? A new religion, a new society, a new Empire?

Individuals apart, is the type of the Europeanized Oriental to be the highest stage we can expect? Imitation is comparatively easy; it is the Oriental's bane, and

can only end in destroying his originality. The intellectual results of our English education in India have been somewhat disappointing ; they have scarcely extended beyond giving the Young Indian a command of our language. Fluency of speech is used to cover poverty of thought. The late R. C. Dutt was an estimable man, and a prolific writer, who enjoyed high office, and was an excellent example of what our system can produce ; but his writings on revenue subjects, of which he ought to have known something, are puerile. For my own part I find much more originality and power in the Conservative school—the school which has preserved Oriental modes of thought, modifying them by Western ideals. But both sections of Young India, whatever their intellectual tendencies or weaknesses, have gained much from Western morality. Vambéry is right in considering this as the crown of our educational achievements.

THE MAKING OF NINEVEH.

THE GREAT GATE CYLINDER OF SENNACHERIB.

BY W. S. C. BOSCAWEN.

THERE has just been acquired by the authorities of the British Museum an Assyrian inscription which should cause considerable interest among archæologists. The monument is an eight-sided cylinder of fine yellow terracotta, bearing seven hundred and forty lines of the finest cuneiform writing. The cylinder is nearly fifteen inches in height ($14\frac{3}{8}$ "), and is, with only a few broken places, in excellent preservation. The monument was inscribed for Sennacherib, the second and in many respects the greatest, of the Kings of the Sargonide Dynasty of Assyrian Kings. It is dated in the eponym year of Ilu-itti-ya, Prefect of Damascus—that is, in the year 694 B.C.

We now possess several fine cylinders of the reign of Sennacherib, all of which, it is pleasing to say, are in the British Museum :

1. The Bellino Cylinder, so-called from the copy of it made by Signor Bellino, which was found by Mr. Claudius Rich, in 1808, in the Nebby Yunus mound. This is dated in the eponym of Nibo-likh, 702 B.C.

2. The Rassam Cylinder dated in the eponym of Metennu, 700 B.C.

3. The New Cylinder dated in the eponym of Ilu-itti-ya, 694 B.C.

4. The Taylor Cylinder, found in the Nebby Yunus mound in A.D. 1830 by Mr. Taylor, Consul at Baghdad, and subsequently purchased by the British Museum. Dated 691 B.C.

The new cylinder is of special interest, not so much

on account of its historical matter, as for the very full details it gives of the topography of Nineveh, and the lengthy description it affords of the great building operations that Sennacherib undertook in making Nineveh a capital worthy of his great empire. The historical portion is in the main a duplicate of the annals found in the Taylor Cylinder, but there are fortunately records of two hitherto unknown military expeditions given, of which the only mention has been found in the writings of Eusebius.

The first of these is an expedition which took place in the eponym year of Salmu Bel, the Prefect of the city of Rimusi—that is, in the year 698 B.C.—against the kingdom or province of Cilicia, then subject to Assyria, having been conquered by Sargon near the end of his reign. The account of the expedition is most interesting, as showing the promptitude with which the great Assyrian King acted. It reads:

"In the eponym (*limu*) of Salmū Bel, Prefect (*sakin*) of the city of Rimusi.

"Kirua, the ruler of the city of Illuub-ru (*Illubru*), a servant dependent on me (*dagil-pani-ia*), whose gods had abandoned him (*ezribu-su ilani su*).

"The men of Cilicia (*khi-lak-ki*) revolted and gathered to make battle.

"The people dwelling in the cities of Ingira and Tarzi to his help joined, and the Cilician road (*girri ku-e*) they seized and cut off the caravans (*iprusu a-lak-tu*)

"Archers, bearers of shields, lances,

"Chariots, horses, and my royal bodyguard (*kisir-sarrute ia*) I despatched against them.

"As for the troops of Cilicia, who had gathered to his assistance

"In the midst of a difficult mountain (*sadi marai*), they accomplished their overthrow.

"As for himself within his city of Illubru his fortress fighting (*zaltum*), they besieged him and seized his exit. With the assault of war engines and the attack of foot

soldiers they accomplished his overthrow and took the city.

"Kirua the prefect of the city with the spoil of his city and the people of . . . who had gone to his help,

"To Nineveh to my presence they brought.

"Of that Kirua his skin I cut off (*masak su akûs*). I returned and took Illubru anew, and people of lands the conquests of my hands within it I settled.

"The weapon (symbol) of Assur my lord within it I set up. A memorial tablet of alabaster I caused to be made and set up before it."

This fragment is of great importance, as it not only confirms the statement of Eusebius as to an Assyrian campaign in Cilicia, but apparently records the first contact between the ruling power of the Tigro-Euphrates' Valley and the Greeks. The Greeks were beginning by 698 B.C. to gain a considerable foothold in Asia Minor, a position which was still further increased with the rise of the Lydian and Phrygian Kingdoms. Eusebius states that a naval engagement took place off the Cilician coast—that is, in the Bay of Issus (Alexandretta)—and this may have been the case, for Sennacherib held Tyre, and may have been able to command the services of the Phœnician fleet. Another important feature of this record is the statement of the cause of the war—the revolt of Kirua and the stoppage of the caravan. Cilicia and Cappadocia had from an early period been a rich source of revenue to the Assyrian and Babylonian merchants. The Cappadocian tablets found by M. Chantre at Kara Eyak and those in the collection of M. Golénischef (in St. Petersburg) and at Liverpool University show that as early probably as the nineteenth century before our era a large community of merchant traders had established themselves in Eastern Asia Minor. Here they held a kind of autonomous position, having their own eponyms and governors, their military police and judges—in fact, much of a similar position to that of the East India Company in our own times. The cuneiform mode of

writing, and the Assyrian-Babylonian weights, measures, and currency, were employed in all their transactions, which were recorded on clay tablets. The whole movement originated in the great influence which Babylonia exercised in the fifteenth and earlier centuries in Western Asia, when the Semitic Babylonian language and script became the medium of commercial and diplomatic intercourse. The fall of the Hittite power and the aggression of the Assyrian Kings in Cilicia and Cappadocia transferred this rich field of commercial enterprise and tribute to Assyria; and it was therefore clear that the act of the rebels in seizing the Cilician road (*girr k̄ue*), the district of K̄ue being the Plain of the Anak, north of Antioch, and slopes of the Taurus, and thereby stopping the caravans passing through the Cilician gates, was a serious offence and a cause of war. The battle took place no doubt in one of the passes leading through the Taurus into the Plain of Cilicia (Anatolia), probably that at Pallanik, north of Sinjerli, the ancient Aramean-Hittite city of Samah.

The two cities whose inhabitants aided the rebel Kirua—Ingira and Tarzi—are certainly to be identified with Angora and Tarsus; and it must be remembered that Greek tradition ascribed the building of Tarsus to the Assyrian King Sardanapalus, and a mound, which tradition identified as the tomb of the latter, was shown near the city.

The second new campaign, which this cylinder preserves a record, is not of equal historical importance. It took place in the eponym of Assūr-bel-uṣur, 695 B.C., against the city of *Tulgarimu*, in the land of Tabal—that is, in the land of Jubal of the Bible—the Tabareni of the Classics, while the city of *Tulgarimu* is probably the *Tulgamiru* of other inscriptions (the Togamar of Ezekiel xxvii. 14). It was comprised in the ancient kingdom of *Kumukh*, the Commagene of the Greeks, and was celebrated for its "horses and mules," large numbers of which were exported and levied as tribute by the Assyrians.

With these two campaigns the historical portion of this important inscription concludes, and the remainder of the text deals with the building of Nineveh by Sennacherib—an enormous work, lasting probably some ten years, and which, from the elaborate description of it given here, must have employed hundreds of thousands of captives and other labourers.

Sennacherib found himself in a difficult position when he came to the throne in 706 B.C., when his father, Sargon II., died, being probably assassinated in his palace-city of Dur-Sargina or Khorsabad.

There is no period in all the history of the ancient East so full of incidents, both in domestic life and politics, as that of the Sargonide Dynasty (722-606 B.C.). It was an age which produced some of the greatest rulers that the Orient ever had, men whose actions moulded not only the course of the history of their own age, but influenced the whole of the world's history as well. It was an age of strenuous vitality in all fields of life. In the political world there was the great struggle for supremacy in the Orient between Egypt and Assyria—a conflict which affected all the surrounding nations. The way in which the Hebrew kingdoms were drawn into this maelstrom of war and intrigue is clearly shown in the writings of that brilliant Hebrew politician, Isaiah. The final blow came in the overthrow of the Ethiopian Dynasty by the capture of Thebes by Assurbanipal. In this cylinder we have a record of this Assyrio-Egyptian struggle in the account of the Syrian campaign of Sennacherib, when he defeated the Philistian Kings and their Egyptian allies in the Battle of Eltekeh, on the frontier of Southern Palestine. There was, however, a still more important feature in the political life of the period.

Behind the mountains, to the east-north-east of Assyria, a dark cloud of nations—called in the inscriptions the *Zab-manda*, or “wandering host”—the “barbarians,” were gathering: a vast wave of humanity urged on by an

invisible and irresistible influence: one of those strange movements which have been so often born in "the womb of nations"—the high plateau of Central Asia. The vanguard of this dark host was the Gimirai, the Homeric Kimirrioi or Scythians, whom Sargon had encountered, but who were pushing steadily onward through the passes of Armenia and Western Persia, until in later times they then overran Northern Mesopotamia and Palestine, as far south as Gaza, destroying the temple of Kharran in 607-606 B.C. Along with them the Medes were pushing their way into the highlands to the north-east of Assyria, and were encountered by Sennacherib in 704-703 B.C., as recorded in this cylinder. On his return from the war in the mountains to the north-east of Assyria against the Kassites and allied tribes, he says: "*Sa mat Madai rukēte . sa ina sarrani abi-ia . māmman la ismu . ziker sun.*" "Of the Medes a far-distant people of whom among the Kings my fathers none had heard the name, their rich tribute I received, and they submitted to the yoke of my lordship." This statement is of great interest, but unfortunately is not strictly correct. Sennacherib can have had but little knowledge of his father's records, for on a small clay cylinder of Sargon's in the British Museum is a record of his receiving tribute from certain Median Princes, whose names are given. This gathering storm did not, however, break until long after the death of Sennacherib; nevertheless, he seems to have been aware of the danger that threatened the kingdom and the capital from the north-east, and this may be the reason why he built such strong defences on the eastern side of his city.

Two other important elements in the politics of Western Asia, and especially of Assyria at this time, remain to be noticed. The first of these lay in the rapidly increasing power of the Elamite Kingdom to the south-east of Assyria, on the east side of the Tigris, and in close proximity to Babylonia. The Elamite Kingdom, which in antiquity rivalled Babylonia, had many strange vicissitudes, and its

history is only very gradually being made known to us by the discoveries made by M. de Morgan at Susa. The Elamite Kingdom rose into existence contemporary with the early Susanian kingdoms of Babylonia; and with the rise of the Semites in Babylonia, especially the Dynasty of Sargon I. of Agade, it became a suzerain province ruled by Chaldean Viceroys; and Gudea, Dungi, and other rulers dedicated objects to the temple of the Susanian god, Insusinak. The great Babylonian King, Khammurabi, most certainly ruled there, and probably had a royal residence in Susa. The great Kassite invasion, 1800 B.C., another of those strange waves of barbarian hordes which led to the overthrow of the Semitic Dynasty in Babylonia, also led to the establishment of a line of Kassite Kings in Susa.

When, in 747 B.C., the old line of Chaldean Kings was overthrown by Assyria, Elam had cast in her lot with the Babylonians, and there grew up an interminable hatred of and struggle with Assyria, which extended until 649 B.C., when Assurbanipal crushed the Elamites and sacked Susa.

In the time of Sargon and Sennacherib the throne of Elam was occupied by a line of Anzanian or native Elamite Kings. These monarchs took every opportunity to oppose Assyria, and they became the willing and constant allies of the Chaldean people against Assyria. They aided Merodachbaladan against Sargon and Sennacherib, and all the various Princes who rose at the instigation of the priests of Babylonia to attempt to secure the independence of Chaldea from Assyria, purchased their aid by rich bribes from the temple treasuries. In the Battle of Khalluli, in which Sennacherib defeated Suzub, the Elamites and their allies aided the Chaldeans.

The Elamites were by no means a homogeneous race, but rather a mixed confederacy of Turanian, Aryan, and Alarodian tribes, for the vanguard of the Persian tribes, the Parsu, appear among the allies against the Assyrians at Khalluli. This Chaldeo-Elamite alliance was one of the greatest troubles that Sennacherib had to encounter.

Together with this there was the ever-present strength of the Babylonian people, headed and incited by the priests to obtain "Home Rule" and independence, a struggle which never ceased until, in 606 B.C., the Babylonians, taking advantage of the Aryan invasion of Assyria under Cyaxeres, and led by the traitor Nabupalassar, took part in the overthrow of Sin-sar-iskun or Saracus, the last of the Assyrian Kings, and as Nabupalassar says in his cylinder inscription at Berlin, removed the heavy yoke of the Assyrian from the land.

The enormous wealth of the temple treasuries of Babylonia and the power of the priesthood in the land enabled them to buy the aid, not only of the Elamites, but to stir up and assist any who would cause trouble to the ruler of Assyria; and it was this that afforded the real motive for the embassy sent by Merodachbaladan to Hezekiah (Isa. xxxix. 1), which was to create a diversion and draw off the Assyrians to Palestine, and so allow the Babylonians to revolt. The position of Assyrian politics is not without a striking modern parallel. The position of the Babylonians was similar to that of the Scottish people under the Hanoverians; to them the honour of Merodachbaladan was like that of the Stuarts. This Prince was, like the Stuart pretenders, the popular favourite, protected and helped by the priests and wealthy nobles, and, after his defeats, hidden and sheltered by the common people, hiding in the marshes and escaping to Elam, as Charles Stuart did to France. Elam played the role of France in aiding by arms or intrigue the cause of the Chaldean Princes.

It will be seen from this résumé of the history of the period that the politics of Western Asia in the period of the Sargonide Dynasty were very complicated, and that it needed a firm hand and strong head to direct the affairs of the great Empire, and a careful study of the inscriptions of Sennacherib show us clearly that he possessed both these necessary qualifications. The very opening of this inscription shows a remarkably high estimate of the kingly

office. It differs from all other inscriptions, and would seem, like much in the inscriptions, to be the work of the King himself. For the benefit of Semitic scholars who may recognize many of the epithets, I give the transcription of the Assyrian:

Cal. I. (1 to 21).—Sin-akhi-irba, šar-rabu, šar dannu sar kiškati šar mat Akkur sar kišrat irbiti reum etpeku migir ilani rabuti. Nazir kitti ra'im mikari epis usāli alik tapput akii sakkiru damkati, ilum gitmalum zikaru hardu, asarid kal maliki rappu la'id la magiri muba-priku zamani Assur šadu rabū šarrutu lasanan, ušatlimānni ma eli gimēr akib parakki ušarba kakhi-ya ultu tiamti elinite ša šalmu Samsi adi tamtim sapliti ša šit šamsi gimri zalmat kakkadi ušakniš sepu-a, u maliki sebguti eduru takhazi, dādmi sīn ezzibu ma. Kima sudinni nigizi edis ipparšu ašar la'ari.

Translation.—Sennacherib the great King, the mighty King, the King of Multitudes, King of Assyria, King of the Four Quarters. The active Prince, the favourite of the great gods.

The protector of Laws, the lover of Justice who renders as a friend help to the weak, and protects the good.

The perfect hero, the warrior prince.

The first-born of all princes, the terrible one, the burner up of the unrighteous.

Assur the most high an unequalled sovereignty has conferred on me, and above all the dwellers in palaces, has spread abroad my weapons. From the upper sea of the Setting Sun to the lower sea of the Rising Sun he has caused the Black heads (natives) to submit at my feet. Rebel Kings fear to make battle (with me). They abandon their dwellings and like the Kestrels one by one flee to the craggs, to hidden places.

There are several interesting points about this passage. In the first place, it strikes us as remarkable that the King gives no genealogy, and makes no mention of his father. It is curious to notice that, with the exception of some short inscriptions, usually on bricks, we rarely or ever find any mention of his father, Sargon. Then there is an almost monotheistic note in his attribution of his sovereignty to the Divine right conferred on him by Assur, the "most high" god. It is curious to find the two special epithets of "guardian of laws and lover of justice," two important elements in the kingly office, and not found in any other

royal prologue, except that of Khammurabi ; so also is his position as the "helper of the weak and the protector of the good." The expression *asib parakki*, "dwellers in the palace," is of frequent occurrence, but means rather "dwellers in the harem," those of royal descent. This dedication stamps Sennacherib as different in character and tone from the general run of the Assyrian Kings, and we shall, as we study his records, find much that shows him to be a man of great strength of mind and character. That he was a good and brave soldier there is no doubt, for he took part in many of the most difficult campaigns, and shared the hardships of war like a common soldier, "climbing the rocks like a wild goat, or scrambling on his knees on the rough mountain stones, and quenching his thirst with dirty water out of a skin bottle." He learned his soldier's work in the service of his father, acting as the commander of the army in Muzri, or Western Armenia, and several of his despatches are in the British Museum.

On his accession to the throne, in the latter part of 706 B.C., he found a serious difficulty before him—he had succeeded to a great empire, but was without a capital city worthy of its importance. Sargon the usurper, who had been no doubt instrumental in the death of his master, Shalmanesar IV., appears to have been afraid to dwell in Kalah, the old capital of the Middle Assyrian Empire, situated at the junction of the Upper Zab and the Tigris, the ruins of which are marked by the mounds of Nimroud ; for a similar reason he also avoided Nineveh, where only a few inscriptions of his have been found. He built for himself at the foot of the Zagros range, at the site now known as Khorsabad, about twenty miles north of Nineveh, a palace-fortress and city called *Dur Sargina* or "Fort Sargon." It was a splendid building, richly decorated, as shown by the splendid monuments now in the Louvre in Paris ; but it seems to have been deserted after his death, for no records of other Kings have been found in the excavations.

Sennacherib, when he came to the throne, found Nineveh in a very neglected state, and certainly not worthy of being the great royal city. The description he gives is most graphic, and fortunately it is well preserved on the cylinder, and the few lacunae can be restored from the Bull inscriptions :

"At that time Nineveh, the exalted city (*makhazi siru*), the city beloved (*naram*) of Istar.

"When are all the shrines of the gods and goddesses to be within it? The everlasting foundation, the eternal structure, whose plan of old time was by the design of heaven (*sitir burumi*), whose structure shone brilliantly (*supu*).

"The beautiful place, the abode of the oracle (*subat piristi*), wherein are all manner of works of art (*sipir nikilti*), (and) to which all kinds of decorations and precious treasures have been brought.

"(The city) wherein of old time the Kings who had gone before me had exercised the government (*bilutu*) of Assyria, and directed the people (*uma'ru ba'lat*) of Bel. None among them to enlarge (*sumtul*) the site of the city, to build fortifications, or make straight the streets, or to dig a canal, or plant plantations, had turned their intelligence (*usna*) or brought their mind (*karas*).

"The palace within it, the abode of princely dominion, of which its site (*subat*) had become cramped (*zukhrat*), (and) its construction was not beautiful.

"(To this) none had given his understanding (*lie-su*) or pondered in his heart (*labbiis ul ikhsus*).

"I my self Sennacherib, King of Multitudes, King of Assyria, to the carrying out (*epis*) of that work according to the command of the gods (*ki tem ilani*) set my intelligence (*usni-ya*), brought my mind (*kabati*)."

To carry out this work a huge forced levy of captives was made, and men (*tenesit*) from Chaldea, Syria (*Arami*), Van, Kua, and Cilicia (*Khilakki*), and Palestine (*Pilisti*), and Tyre (*Zurri*) were collected. The King's words are remarkable, *dupsikku usassi sunuti*, "baskets I caused

them to carry," this being the usual word for *corvée* work in Assyria; and then he adds, they made bricks (*ilbinu libinti*). This *corvée* is vividly represented at work in the sculptures in the Koyungik Gallery of the British Museum, which represent the building of this palace.

The improvements necessitated the pulling down of the old palace. "The former palace," he says, "which measured 360 cubits in length and 95 in width, of which its site was cramped, and which the Kings my predecessors for their princely dwelling had made, and had not made beautiful (*la unakkilu sepir su*) its construction." A little farther on the King says: "That small palace *in toto* (*ana sikhirti su*) I pulled down."

The old small palace appears to have fallen into decay, and this was chiefly due to the platform being washed away by the stream of the River Tebeltu, which washed its sides. Of this stream the King changed the course, diverting it from the midst of the city, and made its outlet in the suburbs (*tamirti*).

The New Palace.

"For half a *gan* the course of the waters four great worked stones (*pili rabati*) with bitumen I covered, and reeds and rushes I laid upon them (*usatriza*). The boundary and foundation stones (possibly corner stones), 350 great cubits long, 288 cubits in breadth, land from the bed of the Khosr and the environs of the city according to the design then I took, and added to its area (*masikti*), and to the former mound (*tamli*) I added, and the whole of it to 100 *tipki* I raised its head (height), that in future times the gathering floods the base of the mound should not weaken (*la enisi*). With great worked stipes the lower part I surrounded, and made its earthwork strong.

"To 700 great *suklum* in length and 440 great *suklum* in breadth the platform of the palace I changed, and enlarged its site. Chambers (*hikali*) of gold, silver, copper, crystal breccia, alabaster, ivory, ukarrina and usu woods,

maskanna wood, cedar, cypress, elammaka, and Sindai wood for the dwelling of my lordship I made. A portico (*Bit mutirriti*), in the style of a Hittite palace, before the gates I caused to be built. Beams of cedar and cypress wood, of which their perfume is pleasant, the products of the snow-clad (shining) mountains of Amanus and Sirara, I placed upon them.

"Doors of cedar, cypress, pine, and Sindai wood, which with broad bands of bronze I bound, I hung in the gates. In the dwelling-place within the palace I opened rooms, and made openings for windows.

"Great female colossi of alabaster and ivory, wearing horned head-dresses and with bent talons, clothed with strength and vigour and full of splendour, I placed in these gateways. Thus I made it a wonder to behold."

Lighting Arrangements.

It has always been a problem to architects as to how the palaces of Nineveh were lighted, but in this inscription we get some information hitherto unknown :

"The darkness of the passages within the dwelling-place, their darkness I changed and made bright as the daylight. The thresholds of the doors of silver and bronze within them I placed."

The King next describes how he decorated the cornices with painted bricks and marble and lapis lazuli.

The Sources of the Wood-Supply.

It is evident that for the construction and decoration of this splendid palace all sources for supplying material were drawn upon, and on this point much interesting information is given. The King describes how the divinities, Assur and Istar, interested themselves and directed him to the places where precious woods and building stones were to be found. He says: "Assur and Istar, lovers of my priesthood (*sangutiia*), who proclaimed my name, the position of great cedar trees which for long days (*umi araki*) had

flourished (*isikhu*) and had grown very great (*dannis*) in the midst of the mountains of Sirara, standing hidden (*ina puzri nanzuru*), disclosed to me.

"Also for alabaster (*parutu*), which in the days of the Kings my fathers for the hilt of a sword only was valued. They showed to me its face (presence) in the hidden places (*sapan*) of Mount Amanana, and breccia stone for great stone vases, which none had before seen in the city of Kapridargila, which is in the region of Tul Barsip, revealed itself."

The Making and Moving of Winged Bulls.

In the neighbourhood of Nineveh, in the land of Baladai, according to the command of the god, white limestone in large quantities (*ana mudie*) was found. Winged bulls and statues with limbs of alabaster, which were made in one piece of mighty proportions, standing up high on their own pedestals.

There is in the inscription a most interesting passage describing the making of these great winged bulls, and the terrible work it required to get them into position. The passage occurs early in the inscription, and its exact relation to the general body of the text is obscure, but it well illustrates the scenes depicted on the slabs from Sennacherib's palace.

"Great winged bulls of white limestone (*pili pisa*) in the city of Tastiate, which is on the other side of the Tigris, they cut to support their gates, and made great rafts (*elippi*). Within the forests great trees they cut down throughout (*napkhar*) their land.

"In the month Iyar at the time of the Spring flood in (these) great rafts to the other side with great difficulty they crossed. At the ferry of the quay their huge (*gula*) rafts sank deep, and their crews were filled with lamentation and their spirits were depressed. By great strength and much trouble and with difficulty they brought them up, and erected them in their gateways." To this account we may

add the short epigraphic inscription on one of the slabs representing the building of the palace, now in the Nineveh or Koyunjik Gallery of the British Museum. It reads: "Sennacherib, King of Nations, King of Assyria, great winged bulls (*sedi rabati*), which in the land of Baladai were made to his lordly palace, which was within Nineveh, joyfully (*khadis*) he caused to be drawn."

The King next gives a most interesting account of the bronze figures and statues he made, by a new method, which produced works of art far exceeding all of previous time. His self-praise is very marked: "I myself Sennacherib, the first of all princes, learned in all craftsmanship (*sepri kalama*), pillars of bronze and great bronze lions open at the knees, which none of the Kings my predecessors had cast (*la iptiqu*), by the skilled intelligence (*usni nikilli*) which the great Ninigiazag (*Ea*) had conferred on me (I made). By my own invention, I took counsel with myself, and by my careful decision casts of bronze I made and cunningly completed." The method is explained as follows: "By the command of God, a mould (*zi'pi*) of clay I made, and bronze (*era*) into it I poured, similar to the casting of half shekel pieces. Thus I completed their form." He also appears to have been able to plate some of his figures with gold or electrum (*zakhali litbusa*).

There are many other details of interest, but they are of too technical a nature to be discussed here; but all tend to show how Sennacherib laid all the resources of his vast empire under contribution to decorate his great palace, and truly to render it "the wonder of all people."

Next he describes the method by which he supplied the palace with water by erecting shadoufs, with bronze levers and buckets over the wells. He concludes this portion with an interesting passage: "These palaces I made to be beautiful, and the whole of the palace to be the wonder of all nations. As I raised its head I called it the palace that has no equal."

The Royal Gardens.

"A great garden in the manner of Mount Amanus, in which all manner of green herbs, and fruit trees, and trees the products of mountains and lowlands (Chaldea), with the trees that bore wool (*ise nls sipati*), within it near to the (palace) I planted."

The inscription contains another very interesting reference to the great encouragement which Sennacherib gave to agriculture and horticulture in Nineveh. He appears to have planted extensive gardens and plantations round the city. "Above and below the city I layed out gardens with the produce of mountains and plains, all kinds of green herbs of the land of the Hittites and Syria (*Amurru*), which within them bore better than in their own home. Mountain vines of all kinds, all manner of fruits, and native plants, green herbs, Serdi trees, for my subjects I planted."

Fortifications of Nineveh.

The King's description of the great fortifications he made for the capital here given seems strongly to bear out the accounts of Diodorus and other classical writers as to their immense size. The King thus describes the work. "Nineveh which from former time (*ultu umi pani*) 9,300 cubits its site according to the Princes my predecessors: 12,515 cubits land within the city—to its former dimension I added 21,815 great sukhi. I fixed its circuit of its great wall; *DUR GAL IMGAL BI IN KURRA*, or 'the wall whose brightness sweeps away the foe' (I called it). On great blocks of white limestone I laid its foundation and forty bricks (*i.e.*, 70 feet). I made it broad.

"To 180 *tiphi* I raised its head.

"To the four winds, 15 great gates before and behind and on either side for entrance and exit, I caused to be opened within it.

"I. May the Viceroy of Assur be strong (*Libur patisi*

Assur). The Great Gate of the God Assur of the city of Assur.

"II. Sweeper away of all foes (*sapin gimir nakiri*). The Great Gate of Sennacherib of the land of Khalzi.

"III. Ellil who establishes my reign (*Ellil mukin pali-ia*). The Great Gate of Samas of the land of Gagal.

"IV. Of Sennacherib establish thou . . . his rule. The Great Gate of Nin Lil of the city of Kar Nin Lil.

"V. From which goes forth the flesh of the Fever god (*Musezat ser Assaki*). The Covered Gate (*muzlalum*).

"VI. The best of corn and wool are ever within it. The Great Gate of the city of Sibariba.

"VII. Which brings the produce of the highlands (*bibilat Khizib*). The Great Gate of the land of Khatamkhi (*Kharsani*).

"In all seven Great Gates of the rising Sun.

"Facing the South and the East.

"Thus I proclaimed their names.

"VIII. Adad, the giver of fertility to the land (*Adad sarik khegalli ana mati*). The Great Gate of Adad of fertility.

"IX. Urra who destroys my enemies (*Urra sagis zamani-ia*). The Great Gate of Nirgal of the city of Tarbizi.

"X. Nannaru, the protector of my lordship (*nazir age beluti-ia*)—the Great Gate of Sin (Nannaru).

"In all three great gates which faced the North.

"I proclaimed their names.

"XI. Ea, the director of my fountains (*musisir kappi ia*). The Great Gate of the Watering-place.

"XII. Whereby enter the wares of people (*mikhirti dadme*). The Great Gate of the Quay (*kāri*).

"XIII. Whereby enter the gifts of the people of Sumu'an and Tême. The Great Gate of the Desert.

"XIV. That provides for all (*pakidat kalama*). The Great Gate of the Armoury (*ekal makhirti*).

"XV. Sarur, who smites the foes of the King (*aiab sarri*). The Great Gate of Khanduri.

"In all Five Great Gates which faced the West

I proclaimed their names."

We now come to the most important work of all, the building of the great outer wall, round which was the moat fed from the Khosr. The building of this wall was a tremendous undertaking. The wall, like the gates, had a name given to it—"Who terrifies (*mugallit*) the foe." To obtain a foundation for this wall the King had excavations carried down to a depth of 45 *gar* until the subterranean springs were reached. There in those subterranean waters "great stones of the mountains" were placed, and above this bare course, as far as the battlements (*paski*), he skilfully carried out the construction with great white limestone (*pili rabuti*) blocks. Thus he says, "of Nineveh, the city of my dominion, its site I enlarged"; and, "this outer wall I caused to be built, and piled it up like a mountain."

The remainder of the inscription is taken up with an account of the works. He undertook to regulate the course of the Khusur or Khosr River, and the reservoirs he made at Sibaniba or Bavian. He controlled the stream, and made irrigation canals to water the gardens above and below the city. The attention which the King paid to the making fertile the suburbs of his city is most interesting, and the passage worth quoting: "With pickaxes I excavated, and directed a canal, and those waters over the reservoirs (*tamirti*) of Nineveh I appointed for ever, and among those plantations (*sippate*) I led them by water-courses." This founding of a "garden city" by Sennacherib is a matter of great importance, and it seems to have been carried out in a most thorough manner, and been a decided success. By the order of God within the gardens, even more than in their own homes, the vines and all manner of fruit-trees, the Sirdu trees, and the green herbs, greatly flourished. The cypress and miskanna trees and all the trees flourished and put forth fresh shoots. "The reed beds," planted by the King, flourished exceedingly, and the birds of heaven and the Igiri birds built their nests. The wild swine

which the King placed in the reedbeds multiplied their young, and in the Koyunjik sculptures, already mentioned, a sow with a litter of young pigs is represented.

At the end of this section we have a most interesting passage as to the use made of these trees which grew in the plantation: "The miskanna and cypress-trees, the produce of the plantations, the reeds which were in the marsh I cut down, and for the necessary work of my lordly palaces there I used them. The trees that bore wool (*assu nas sipūti*) they plucked or sheared, shredded and used for clothes (*ibkumu imkhazu zubates*)." These wool-bearing trees are undoubtedly cotton, and have been identified by Mr. L. W. King with the *Gossypium arboreum* or cotton-tree ("Proc. S.B.A.," vol. xxxi., p. 339), which grows in Egypt, Arabia, and India, and would flourish in the latitude of Nineveh.

It must be clear that this great record throws a new and important light upon the character of Sennacherib, proving him to be a most active and enlightened monarch, a grand organizer, and a liberal patron of the arts and crafts. This inscription shows clearly the reason for the great and important change in the art work of Assyria, which first appears in the sculptures of the time of Sennacherib. Hitherto the sculptures, especially those from Nimroud and Khorsabad, had been stiff and conventional, and devoid of incident. The sculptures from the palace of Sennacherib show a vast improvement. Incident is introduced, and a regular sequence in the arrangement of scenes, especially to be noticed in the Lachish sculptures, which form a complete war panorama in stone, with many sidelights on incidents, such as the woman kissing her child, or the scene of cooking and drinking in the camp. So also the artists began to introduce the correct flora as backgrounds. The series of sculptures illustrating the building of the palace we have already seen for excellent and accurate illustration to the text of this inscription, and wrought evidently from sketches made by artists on the spot.

A word must be said as to the text of this inscription. It is not only one of the finest examples of cuneiform writing known, but the style is remarkable. The scribe has avoided, as much as possible, the use of ideograms, the words being spelt out in full, and the whole tone is that of a most carefully prepared document. It is, indeed, a most important inscription and a most valuable addition to the collections of the British Museum.

ADDITIONAL INSCRIPTIONS.

To complete our study of the building of Nineveh by Sennacherib, I may here give a translation of the portion of the Taylor Cylinder which describes the building of the armoury palace, now represented by the mound of Nebby Yunus, on the west side of the city :

"In those days when the palace within the city of Nineveh for the exercise of my kingship (*sarruti*) I finished and 'with the wonder of the host of men filled it.' An Armoury (*Kutalli*) which for the storing of munitions of war (*karasi*), the stabling of horses, locking of baggage, I caused to be made, the King going before me my fathers, its mound had not made, and its site was small, and not beautiful its construction. From old time (*labaris*) its basement had decayed, its foundation given way, and its roof fallen in. That palace *in toto* (*sikhirti*) I destroyed, to much more elevation upon it I raised, and (land) from the environs within the city I took and added to it, and the site of the former palace I abandoned; with earth, which from the bed of the river I took, I raised it, and the mound I completed and raised its height to 200 *tipki*.

"In a favourable day on that mound by the skill of my mind (heart), a palace of white limestone and cedar wood, the produce of Syria, and a splendid palace in the Assyrian style (*ipsit*), which excelled greatly in size the former one, and also in the beauty of its construction, like the spirit (*galle*) of the lord of Kuti (Nergal the war god of Cuthā) as the seat of my dominion I caused to be

constructed, great beams of cedar wood the produce of Mount Amanus, the snow-clad mountain, I placed over them. Doors of Liari wood with bright bands of bronze I bound, and hung them in their gates with white limestone which is to be seen in the land of Baladai, great winged bulls I caused to be made, and right and left I placed them with three bolts. For the directing of the black headed man, the storing (*paḫadi*) of war horses, swift footed mules, camels, chariots, baggage wagons, the stretching of hangings, bows, arrows, baggage, and implements (*unutu*) of war, the harness of horses and mules for the great forces who had submitted to my yoke.

"Its courtyard, which was incomplete, I enlarged. That palace, from its foundation to its battlements, I built and completed. Inscriptions written with my name I placed within it." Ends the same as the gate cylinder.

We have a striking example of the stern and drastic way in which Sennacherib carved out his work and strictly prohibited any work which would spoil his design for his royal city, afforded by the inscription in a stone now exhibited in the Nineveh or Koyunjik Gallery of the British Museum, built into the wall near the north door. At the head of the stone is a figure of Sennacherib together with certain emblems of the gods. The text reads: "I am Sennacherib, the great King, the strong King, the King of Multitudes, King of Assyria, King of the four quarters, the favourite of the great gods. Assur and Istar have conferred on me an unrivalled principedom (*reū la sanan*), and for the destruction of the enemies of Assur have caused my hands to smite. In his service the wide world from the sunrise to sunset with my armies have I traversed. All princes dwelling in palaces in the four quarters have I caused to submit at my feet. At that time in Nineveh the city of my lordship its site (was small); its streets, the course of the King's way (*girri sarri*), I endowed (*usāntee*) and made to shine like the day. Its inner and outer wall skilfully I constructed and heaped up like a

mountain (*kharsanis*), and 100 great cubits I enlarged its moat. In future days that the King's way be not diminished (*la zukhkhuri*) an inscribed stone I caused to be made.

"And on the upper side in front it was placed. Sixty-two great cubits for the King's way, as far as the great gate of the gardens, I measured its width (*amsukh rubus-su*).

"In after time if among the people dwellers in this city who so ever destroys his old house and builds anew, if the foundation of his house encroaches (*irruba*) upon the King's way, over his home on a stake (*ana gasisi*) they shall hang him."

These inscriptions supplement the text of this great cylinder, of which I have given a summary in the article, and prove how thoroughly Sennacherib is to be regarded as the builder of Nineveh. Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal added additional buildings and extended the park, but the real construction of the great city was most certainly the plan and work of Sennacherib.

ANCIENT ANATOMICAL DRAWINGS PRESERVED IN TIBET.

BY L. A. WADDELL, C.B.

HITHERTO our information in regard to the medical and anatomical knowledge possessed by the ancient Hindus has been derived almost exclusively from the non-illustrated accounts in manuscripts. In the Temple of Medicine at Lhasa I was fortunate in finding a set of ancient anatomical drawings which preserve in concrete pictorial form the old-world Indian beliefs in regard to the structure and functions of the internal organs of the human body. These pictures, obviously constructed for teaching purposes, have long been lost and forgotten in the land of their origin, yet they are, whilst interesting and curious in themselves, essential to a right understanding of the history of ancient Indian medicine.

The circumstances under which I visited the Temple of Medicine in 1904, and unearthed there these drawings are described and illustrated in my "Lhasa and Its Mysteries," pp. 376-79. A set of the drawings, which I procured, is now deposited in the India Office Library along with the greater portion of the manuscripts and books collected by me in Tibet, numbering about a thousand volumes and comprising very many rare works and many unique and hitherto unknown treatises, including several on medicine.

In Tibet at the present day, as was formerly the case in ancient Europe, the study and practice of medicine is confined to the priests. They are taught this subject in their ordinary curriculum at the monasteries, and those who desire to specialize come to the Temple of Medicine at Lhasa. This fane is dedicated to Buddha. That dispenser of spiritual medicine is here represented as "The God of Medicine," an Esculapius, whose image occupies the chief place in the temple, with the title of "Buddha, the

Supreme Physician, the King Beautiful as *Baidwya* (beryl or lapis lazuli)." This myth possibly incorporates that of the Assyrian healing (?) deity, *Ēnu-rēstū*, who is also associated with this stone. In this form he is a favourite object of worship by most modern Buddhists, and is the popular *Binzuru Sama* of the Japanese.* The ancient Buddhist canon contains several treatises on the healing art which are ascribed to the Buddha himself, and these, with their commentaries, form the basis of the art as practised at the present day in Tibet.

The source of this Indian Buddhist medical lore has not yet been clearly traced. Ancient Greek influence probably accounts for some of the analogies exhibited to the old humoral pathology, with its flow of the bile and the phlegm. In Buddha's day, in the fifth century B.C., Taxila, near the modern Rawalpindi, in Northern India, was especially famous as a centre of medical learning, and one of its most celebrated physicians at that time was Jīvaka.

Certainly, one and a half centuries later, after Alexander's invasion in 325-27 B.C., Greek influence was strong there for several centuries before the scriptures of either of the two great branches of Buddhism were reduced to writing. And it was from this neighbourhood that the Sanskrit text of the Buddhist canon, from which the Tibetan version is translated, was first collated and issued.

The Indian Buddhist origin of this particular set of pictures is attested by a painted row of twelve monks at its top, as founders of the art, and bearing Indian names of monks of Buddha's Order. They are divided into two groups, one of which is labelled: "Line of the ancient founders (or compounders)." This group commences with a Śākya, but he does not clearly appear to be the great *Muni* himself, as he bears the title of "the great Abbot," and is surnamed the "mighty," which is used in Tibet as the equivalent of the Indian *Īśvara*, or *Śiva*, an epithet not usually applied to Buddha. The second is called the "King Punya," who

* See my "Buddhism of Tibet," pp. 353-54.

possibly may be the Prince *Punya-bala*, who was apparently a contemporary of Buddha, and in regard to whom there is a tale (*avadāna*) in the Buddhist canon. None of the names of the others, however, are recognizable as those of known personages;* nor are any of those of the second group, which is entitled, "The thread of the pure ones." Among these latter the chief place is given to a monk, figured in the conventional attitude of Tsongka'pa, the founder of the yellow hat sect of lamas, and inscribed: "Sarvajña, the lord of doctrinal teaching." This latter list probably includes some Tibetan teachers.

The date of introduction of these pictures into Tibet is not evident. According to the current tradition of the temple, as related to me by the high-priest, the original of these drawings was brought from India in the remote past; but he could point to no positive evidence in support. This particular temple, although rebuilt and extended by the regent Sangyas Gyamts'o about two hundred years ago, is said to have been founded many centuries before that. Possibly, it seems to me, the picture may have been brought to Tibet in the first half of the eighth century A.D. For we read in one of the best of the native histories† that in the reign of K'ri-lde Tsug-rtan [A.D. 705-755], in addition to certain Buddhist scriptures which were translated by Indian monks from the Sanskrit into Tibetan, "Pichi- (or Pochi-) Chandra Srī translated books on Medicine and Surgery, on Astrology, and suchlike subjects."‡ The Lhasa edict of this King's son, found by me,§ states that his father was the first to solidly advance the civilization of his people;

* The names in this list are, as is usual with Indian names, mostly translated etymologically into Tibetan: (1) mK'an-ch'en Sākya dWang-p'ug; (2) mK'as-mch'og bSod-nams rGyal-po; (3) Rin-sding bLo-bzang rGya-nits'o, or "The priceless eminent Sumatīśāgara" (?); (4) Drang-srong bsTan-'dsin rgyal-po, or "The *Tīkṣī* Sastra dhṛitavja" (?); (5) gLing-stong bLo-bzang rGya-nits'o, or "The universal nihilistic (*śūnyāta*) Sumatīśāgara" (?).

† *Gyal-rabs*, or "Chronicle of the Kings," dated about A.D. 1650.

‡ *Ibid.*, E. Schlognitweits' edition, p. 52.

§ *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1909, pp. 923-52.

and medicine and the treatment of disease, I found, was one of the subjects which Tibetans specially inquired about.

Here I give a general description of the contents, as a preliminary note; the complete interpretation of the technical details will require the illuminating aid of a Tibetan physician.

The drawing is made upon a sheet of loaded cloth, which rolls up like a scroll or map, 31 inches long and 26 inches across. The chief figures are three in number, delineated in black ink and coloured. The central figure displays the human body standing with outstretched arms, and in its interior are depicted the bloodvessels and bile-ducts, etc., as imagined; also the vertebræ. The two lateral illustrations are respectively those of a man and a woman, to show the internal organs, which are supposed to differ considerably in position in the woman.

The central figure exhibits an interesting attempt to map out the proportions of the human figure with precision, according to a natural unit scale of measurement, by finger-breadths, which are drawn all over the figure in squares. A man's stature is represented as being ninety-six finger-breadths, and the proportions thus defined for the figure and limbs are accepted and followed as a canon by Tibetan artists. The positions allotted to the internal organs are only very roughly approximate, and have manifestly not been ascertained by dissection. The spinal column extends through twenty-five vertebræ to the level of the tip of the external ear, and the spinal cord to the vertex. The central figure bears the following inscription:

"Chart for identification of the internal parts of the body: In the circle of veins of the five [regions], the head, neck, breast or chest, navel and privy parts are 24 superficial 'veins' in each. These are the ten sapless vessels [= arteries?] and the ten sap (or 'marrow') vessels twenty [in] each, twenty minutely sized ones; [and] the four divisions of the principal [vein], each of which has 25 [subdivisions] which are associated with 500 minute tributary

ones. The vessels of the five orifices, the six sense [organs] and of generation, the blood tract of the excellent intellect, etc. The blood area for blood-letting under and in front of the forefinger for pulse-feeling. The vein which menaces life in plague. The running of the various skin-colours, white and red. The plan of the beating pulses in the head, neck, mouth, etc."

The right-hand figure (female) is inscribed: "The method of disposition, on the right and left, of the five deep veins for ascertaining the cause [of disease], and the superficial middle vein of the mystical circle of the breast." The left-hand figure bears the legend: "Delineation of the inner vessels [showing] the mode of connection of the eight great veins of the hidden systems."

Among these curious notions of anatomy and physiology, I find that of the three classes of bloodvessels, the first bears the name of "the sapless" (*roma*), which recalls the ancient Western conception of the artery as an "*air-duct*" from which our name for it is derived, as in the dead body the arteries were always found empty, and hence were supposed to convey air, a mistake which prevailed even down to Harvey's day. A fantastic result of the notion that the relative position of the blood and bile vessels in a man are reversed in a woman is that the physician feels with his right hand the left wrist for the pulses in a male patient (as the right is supposed to have only bile-ducts); whereas he feels the right wrist of a female, employing for this purpose his own left hand.

This brief note, perhaps, may draw the attention of those interested in the subject to this new source of information on the history of ancient medicine.

THE EMPIRE'S OBLIGATION TO THE LASCAR.*

BY J. WALSH.

THE subject of this paper is the "Indian seaman," or, as he is commonly called, "the lascar." Many of your readers are Anglo-Indians, and to you the lascar must be well known, and it is to him they owe a certain personal obligation, for it is to him that the traveller to and from the East is indebted for a cheaper and safer transit than would be possible without him.

It is my purpose to tell you a little of the history of this man, and to weave into my tale such details as will prevent it being what Pooh-Bah would call a "bald and unconvincing narrative." The term "lascar" does not necessarily or exclusively mean "seamen," for we have in India the "tent lascars," "gun lascars," and many kinds of "lascars." The word originally meant, and still means, a gang, a band, a following, a collection of followers, or an army. It is a word of Persian origin, and the Afghans still call their warrior bands "Lashkari," and perhaps India first learnt the word when Afghan hordes used to relieve the monotony of Indian life by excursions to Delhi, not quite on the lines of Cook's Tours. The English were not very long in India before they became acquainted with the lascar, and it was not long before John Company recognized in the lascar, as we do to-day, a most useful, and I think I may say an indispensable, aid to our mercantile marine.

From the late Sir James Campbell's famous gazetteer (during the elaboration of which I had the honour of serving under him for several years) we find that in 1667 the English Council at Surat recorded payments to lascars

* For discussion on this paper see Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

then in their service, and from this beginning was gradually built up, manned mainly by lascars, that grand old Indian Navy, which suppressed piracy and slavery on the coasts of Arabia, in the Persian Gulf, on the Bombay coasts, and kept peace on Indian waters until this Navy hauled down its flag, in obedience to orders in 1863, and passed, amid universal regret, from a famous fighting force into a purely transport service.

As trade developed in the East between India and China after the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly in 1834, a large number of trading vessels occupied Indian waters—tea clippers, schooners, etc. All these ships were armed, otherwise they could never have got through the swarms of Chinese pirates ready to swoop down on their precious cargoes, especially opium.

To aid in the protection and development of this enormous growing traffic, especially of the opium trade, was one of the first tasks of the Indian lascar, and well he did it.

As all know, it was opium that caused the first Chinese War, 1839 to 1842. So vigorous was India's trade with China at the time when the East India Company's monopoly was done away with that the tea and silks of China were not sufficient to enable the Chinese to pay India for her raw cotton and opium, so China had to find bullion to the extent of £2,000,000 a year to pay for the excess of imports over exports. Not only was gold and silver exported, but vessels returning to India were frequently ballasted with the copper coinage of the country. The Chinese Government took alarm at this state of things, and absolutely prohibited further traffic in opium ("foreign mud," as it was called in the Imperial edicts); but what sort of prohibition was it? Was the "Son of Heaven" really in earnest? Listen! "We anchored on the inside of the Island of Namoa close by two English brigs. Inshore of us riding at anchor two men-of-war junks, with much bunting displayed; one bore the flag of a Commodore.

Knowing the 'formalities' to be gone through with the mandarins, we expected a visit from one, and until it was made no Chinese boat could come alongside, nor could a junk, nor even a bumboat. We had no sooner furled sails and made everything shipshape when his Excellency approached in his gig. He was received at the gangway by Captain Foster. His manner and bearing were easy and dignified. When cheroots and a glass of wine had been offered, the 'Commodore' inquired the cause of our anchoring at Namoa. The *shroff* gave him to understand that the vessel, being on her way from Singapore to Canton, had been compelled through contrary winds and currents to run for Namoa to replenish her wood and water. Having listened attentively, the great man said that 'any supplies might be obtained, but when they were on board not a moment must be lost in sailing for Whampoa, as the great Emperor did not permit vessels from afar to visit any other port.' He then gravely pulled from his boot a long red document and handed it to his secretary that we might be informed of its purport. It was as follows :

“AN IMPERIAL EDICT.

“As the port of Canton is the only one at which barbarians are allowed to trade, on no account can they be permitted to wander about to other places in the “Middle Kingdom.” The “Son of Heaven,” however, whose compassion is as boundless as the ocean, cannot deny to those who are in distress from want of food, through adverse seas and currents, the necessary means of continuing their voyage. When supplied they must no longer loiter, but depart at once. Respect this.

“This ‘Imperial Edict’ having been replaced in its envelope and slipped inside his boot (for service on the chance of another foreign vessel ‘in distress’), his Excellency arose from his seat, which was a signal for all his attendants to return to the boat except his secretary. The two were then invited to the cabin to refresh, and when

this was over we proceeded to business. The mandarin opened by direct question : 'How many chests have you on board ? Are they all for Namoa ? Do you go farther up the coast ?' intimating at the same time that there the officers were uncommonly strict, and were obliged to carry out the will of the 'Emperor of the Universe,' etc. Our answers were equally as clear and prompt—that the vessel was not going north of Namoa, and that her cargo consisted of about 200 chests. Then came the question of *cumsha*, and that was settled on the good old Chinese principle of 'all same custom.' Everything being thus comfortably arranged, his Excellency said, 'Kaoutszel' ('I announce my departure'). Chinese buyers came on board freely the moment they saw the official visit had been made." I assure you that I have not been reading an extract from one of Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan's comic operas, but from a sober and interesting book, "The Englishman in China," by Alexander Michie.

This trade with China gave birth to what was known in Eastern waters as the "Country Service"—*i.e.*, "country ships"—sailing vessels owned in Calcutta and Bombay, officered by Europeans, manned by lascars, and confined to the Indian Ocean.

When I joined the Bombay Customs in 1863 this old "Country Service" was still in existence, but fading away fast. One of the most famous tea clippers of those days was the *Sir Lancelot*, of 886 tons register ; she once ran from Foochow to London in ninety days, and was considered one of the fastest sailing-ships ever built. The *Sir Lancelot* was then in the "country trade." She was owned in Bombay by a Mahommedan gentleman (Mr. Fazulbhoy Visram, if I am not mistaken). When I left Bombay for good in 1904 there was not a single sailing-vessel of the old "Country Trade" left. The *Sir Lancelot* had been the last rose of summer, its companions were all faded and gone. Many who remember the Country Service and its halcyon days will, with me, pay a tribute of regret to its

glorious memory. This service was the nursery of thorough seamanship, and my old friend Captain Row, who is, I hope, here to-day, could tell us what smart craft kept the seas, and what good men manned them in these by-gone days. The country craft vied with men-of-war in crossing and striking royal yards, a great test of smartness in the days of sailing-ships. The decline of the "Country Service" set in with the appearance, in 1840, of the P. and O. Company's steamers, followed by the steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company. It was from the declining "Country Service" that these new Steam Companies drew some of their best officers and lascars. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1870 may be said to have given the "Country Service" its *coup de grace*. These two great steamship companies own between them to-day 166 vessels, aggregating 812,230 tons. The "British India" developed the coasting trade, but the P. and O., being ocean mail contractors, had on the opening of the Canal to face the question of passing their steamers through it into European waters. I think I am correct in saying that the Directors in Leadenhall Street in these circumstances decided that their ships should henceforth be manned by Europeans, the lascars being confined to vessels trading from India to China, and in the local service between China and Japan. But the change proved disastrous, because the old Adam in the Britisher, his insubordination, and his tendency to drunkenness, asserted itself, and caused the new arrangements to collapse. The Directors, responsible for the postal service of the whole East, could not tolerate the state of things which arose. A vessel was not uncommonly obliged to have temporary hands to get up steam and take her into the river preparatory to sailing, all the firemen being incapable for a time; the same trouble used to arise at ports of call—Malta, Port Said, Suez, etc. After a year's experience the experiment was given up, not without serious misgivings and doubts as to the possibility of keeping up the lascar supply. It was

thought that Indian seamen and firemen could not stand the rigours of winter in Western seas, but it has been found in practice that they could. The experience of the P. and O. was the same as that of other steamship companies trading to the East. The lascar, being a temperate man, is in all weathers and at all times amenable to discipline, and in that way much more trustworthy than the British sailor, but, like the sepoy, the lascar needs leading. Well led, he is capable of anything. It may be that in a tight corner the inborn hardihood and resource of the Britisher assert themselves more strikingly, but there have not been wanting evidences of pluck and heroic devotion to duty on the part of the lascar. Resignation to the inevitable and the quiet endurance which distinguish him are well known to those who know the East.

I happen to have in hand an extract from the *Shipping Gazette* of February 23, 1907, when a purse of £200 was given to the Captain, officers, and crew of the turret steamer *Drumconda* in the Tyne. The steamer sailed from Blyth with a cargo of coal for the west coast of South America; early in the voyage the cargo was found to be heating; when the vessel reached the Straits of Magellan things were so bad that the Captain decided to throw overboard some of the coal, but in spite of all difficulties he held on with his brave officers and crew, struggling with explosions, flames, and gas fumes till his ship got to Callao. Mr. Chadwick, in presenting the purse on behalf of the underwriters, said: "It is a fine example of sustained pluck, but is especially significant when it is known that the crew was composed of lascars. These lascars did their duty like men, and in so doing vindicated themselves in the eyes of the world." The *Gazette*, commenting on this, said: "We hear a good deal nowadays of the inferiority and frequent cowardice of lascar crews in time of danger, but the behaviour of these men could not have been surpassed by those of any other nationality." I could quote other instances which completely demolish the theory that

the lascar as a seaman is a weakling and a coward. I would not go to the other extreme, and say that, man for man, he is better than the white seaman, for I learn from men that have sailed the sea with both Europeans and lascars, and I know from my own long experience in the port of Bombay, that the European has, as a rule, more initiative, more self-reliance, and more physical strength than the native lascar. But the point I am striving to establish is that lascars are competent seamen, and that when led by European officers no better crews can be found for steamers on commercial voyages. I do not think they would do for exploring voyages to the Poles, nor as men to supply our Royal Navy; but for the work in which they are now so largely employed they are quite fit, and this is proved by the fact that the P. and O., the British India, the Anchor, the Ellerman, the Bibby, the Clan, and other lines to the East prefer lascar crews. Foreign lines, such as the Rubbatoio, the Hansa, and, I think, Austrian Lloyd also employ lascar crews—not entirely, however, because they are subsidized by their Governments, and their Directors have not the free hand in employing labour that English ship-owners have. I am told that lascars are now used in tramps for Atlantic voyages, and that the practice of shipping them is growing. Apart from the question of cost, to which I shall come presently, from official sources I find that in the shipping offices of Calcutta and Bombay alone, 78,654 seamen were engaged under articles in the year 1908-10; taking the subsidiary ports of Rangoon, Kurrachee, etc., the figure would reach nearly 100,000 men. Take half that number as working to home ports, and I doubt very much whether the shipping offices of the United Kingdom could find that number of men to take the place of the lascars if the latter ceased to be employed. If you ask, Is the lascar much cheaper than the European? the answer is Yes! and in spite of the fact that he is made artificially dearer by the action of the trade unionists of this country, who succeeded in their efforts to have lascars put

on the same scale of accommodation as the European. The lascars were happy, and never complained on this score. I can personally speak to that, for when the agitation about space, etc., arose, the papers were sent to the Government of India for report, and I, with others, had to ascertain from the lascars themselves whether they had any complaints to make. They alleged with one voice that they had not. Parliamentary votes, however, won the day, and the lascars were put on the same scale for space as Europeans. As examples of the cheapness I speak of, I give the figures for two ships of the same size, excluding officers and engineers. In round figures a European crew of forty-six men costs in wages £190, a Indian crew of ninety-two men £133; in victualling the European, £86, the native, £103; that is a net gain of £40 a month, about 14½ per cent. Supposing a ship to make three voyages a year between India and Europe, the gain would be considerable. That is the money gain. How can we calculate the gain from worry and vexation of spirit by a change from intemperance, insubordination, and the interference of unionism to sobriety, obedience, and respect for those in authority? From a patriotic point of view, how sad to picture the loss to 50,000 men at least of wages and keep? What the Britisher loses by refractory behaviour the Indian gains in recognizing his duty to his employer.

I must now tell you where the lascar comes from, and give you a few details about him. The lascars who go down to the sea in the great leviathans of these days are for the most part Mahomedans. The Hindoo makes a good sailor, but his religion does not encourage him to go abroad. Gogo, Surat, and Bulsar in the Bombay Presidency are the places from which lascars largely come. These Guzeratis make good deck hands, are excellent sailors, and are very hard working. From Rajapur, Bankote, Rutnagary, Shiverdhum, and the southern shores of Bombay come men of the fishermen class. Under the leadership of the famous Angrias, these toilers of the deep gave us much

trouble in our early Indian days until their stronghold at Saverndrug was finally destroyed by Commander James in 1755. This exploit, by the way, is recorded on the monument raised by his widow on Shooter's Hill overlooking Blackheath and Woolwich, and is known in the neighbourhood as "Lady James's Monument." As a rule, the lascars crews of the larger steamships consist of men who sail from the same village, and they join their ships under the leadership of the Syrangs, who come from the same townlands, and are thus more or less related to the men serving under them. They are thus a united family, and for both good and evil are more capable of concerted action than a European crew would be. The good qualities of these Indian seamen have become so well known and appreciated that the demand is greater than the supply, and consequently the P. and O. and other large employers have to go farther afield than Bombay and Calcutta in search of recruits; and now lascars come from Chittagong, once famous for ship-building, and the Maldive and Laccadive Islands of the Arabian Sea. By caste most of these new lascars are Mahommedans. They are usually small in stature, but have the reputation of being very plucky and courageous.

So far as the craft of the sea is concerned, it is of course in these days just as important to have good engine-room hands as it is to have good sailors. In fact, some would say more important, for it is on steam more than on wind or tide that the progress of a ship nowadays depends, and we find in the engine-room, as on deck, that the Indian is a much more temperate and less troublesome man than his European rival. The crews in the engine-room are becoming more mixed than formerly; at one time the toilers below were mostly Seedeas, and made excellent stokers and coal-trimmers. These men were of negro blood, and had been recruited largely from the slaves released by our men-of-war from the slave dhows carrying them from Zanzibar to Muscat and the Persian Gulf ports. These liberated slaves settled down in Bombay and Nassick; they and their

descendants supplied stokers and coal-trimmers to the trading steamers. Since the repression of the slave trade the negro element has practically disappeared, the places formerly held exclusively by the Seedees being taken by men from the Konkan. These latter in their turn have dropped out, and now find more congenial work on shore in the spinning mills and railway workshops in Bombay. Into the vacancies thus arising as stokers on steamers men from the north (Afghans, Pathans, and Punjabees) have pressed. These men are accustomed to the extremes of heat and cold, are strong, vigorous, and make excellent firemen and coal-trimmers. They are disposed to be turbulent, and, carrying their village feuds on board, fight at times among themselves and give trouble. Saloon crews are frequently recruited from Goanese Christians. These are usually decent, hard-working men. In 1908-09 Bombay shipped under articles about 7,000 of these for kitchen and saloon work. It will be recognized that Indian crews are well paid, well fed, and well protected by legislation. There is, however, little romance in the lives of Indian seamen. Theirs is a humdrum, work-a-day world. No Indian Dibdin has fired Indian imaginations and enlisted sympathies for the equivalents of "Poor Jack" and "Tom Bowling." No Captain Marryat has told fascinating sea-stories to stimulate Indian boys to run away from home in search of sea adventures. But perhaps some day the lascar may acquire his own "partikler poet," and perhaps some of our educated Indian friends may come down from their high political watch-towers and in song and story take passing notice of an industry that gives food and wages to at least 100,000 of their fellow-countrymen. From Hazell's "Annual," and Low's "Handbook to the Charities of London," I find that there are in London thirty-eight charitable associations whose object it is to help sailors, British and foreign, but the lascar is not included in the term "foreign," and the term "British" is equally exclusive, and thus the institutes, floating libraries, homes, Bethels, etc., of these

charities are not for the "dusky sailors of our Empire," as Lord Ampthill calls them. The religious, intellectual, and social elevation of white sailors is the object of most of these agencies, and for this purpose I find that a great deal more than £100,000 was contributed in 1907. It is true there is in Poplar a home for Asiatics, accommodating something like 170 men, maintained largely by voluntary subscriptions, which welcomes Indian seamen among other Asiatics, but this home is not exclusively for Indian sailors, and it is far from the docks. What is wanted, I think, is not so much a large central place as a few free and easy rooms near the wharves and docks on the lines of the Lascar Club recently started at the Victoria Docks by Dr. Pollen, and at Tilbury by Mr. Challis. I strongly commend these places to your consideration. I think Dr. Pollen will bear me out in saying that such modest little establishments could be easily run for about £100 a year. If enough money were coming forward similar places for lascars could be established at other ports of the United Kingdom where large lascar crews are to be found.

From the Trade and Navigation Reports of India for 1908-09, I find that 835 vessels entered from and cleared for Europe, carrying goods both ways—import and export, that is—to the value of £187,593,209. The United Kingdom had 67 per cent. of the imports, and 27 per cent. of the exports, to its credit. The lascar crews, for whom I am now pleading, assisted very largely, as I have shown you, in this enormous trade, helping the merchant and shipowner to pile up their millions of profit; and I cannot but think that a small—a very small—portion of the large sums contributed by generous donors to British and Foreign Seamen Institutes might be spared for the poor Indian, or why not, I would ask, include him in the term "foreign"? I am sure not a shilling would be held back because of the more liberal construction of the term. Some say that the lascar does not want clubs, that he is not accustomed to them in his own land, and that it does not

benefit him to come on shore in his leisure hours. This is, I submit, a somewhat selfish, and anything but a broad-minded, way of looking at the question. If clubs, as places of culture and amusement, are good for the British sailor, and give him glimpses of a better world that he would not otherwise see or know anything of—if institutes have an elevating influence for the European—let us at least try the same means to elevate our lascars. We have done much for the better classes in India; let us begin to do something other than official for the lascar; he is at the other end of Indian society.

Dr. Pollen, in Victoria Dock Road, and Mr. Challis at Tilbury, have given the lead. In a note by Dr. Pollen in the Lascar's Club visitors' book, I find it written: "German, Dutch, Italian, and other sailors are provided for. Why should the poor Indian sailor alone be neglected?"

As most of your readers know, an agitation was started in the land of the Southern Cross against lascar crews being employed in steamships trading with our Colonies of Australia and New Zealand, and the agitation had some measure of success. The largest employer of lascar labour, the P. and O. Company, being under contract with His Majesty's Government, and not the Australian, has not yielded its right to obtain the best labour it can find for its money, but in continuing to carry lascars, it runs great risks. All "Asiatics" being "prohibited immigrants," the shipowner is responsible that no one remains in the country if taken there for any lawful purpose. If a lascar deserts, the shipowner is fined £100 for each deserter. The lascar seaman never deserts, but the Punjabee firemen, who are in great request in Southern and Western Australia as camel-drivers, do so. The merits of the lascar, however, being so generally admitted, I do not think the agitation I have spoken of is likely to prevail. In conclusion, I beg to say I am not trying to belittle the Britisher by exalting the lascar. I am only bringing under your notice, and, through the medium of

the East India Association, under the notice of the British people, the great service the lascar is rendering in helping Great Britain to keep her commercial prosperity and supremacy, while indirectly relieving thousands of seafaring men for service in the Royal Navy. I am not, I hope, speaking without warrant when I add that, besides his wages and his keep, the lascar owes very little to his employers. I don't think it should be so; it ought not to be a reproach to us that the lascar gets nothing but what the law compels us to give.

SOME REMARKS ON THE JAPANESE SECTION OF THE JAPAN-BRITISH EXHIBI- TION HELD IN LONDON, 1910.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

THE Japan-British Exhibition, which is now being held in London, offers attractions of a unique and almost unprecedented nature. Although thousands of visitors daily flock to this spot, owing to the somewhat enormous extent of its area, few are able to inspect all the exhibits that are on view within the many courts and palaces that constitute the Exhibition.

In a great centre like London it is, of course, necessary to provide amusement for all classes, and by this means draw together as many people as possible to participate in the daily pleasure of a full programme. Mr. Imre Kiralfy knows well how successful his efforts have been in the past, and on this occasion, being largely supported by presidents and chairmen, and groups of committees, both English and Japanese, presiding over the many departments, the system of organization must be very complete.

The great White City is most charmingly designed. The copies of Eastern architecture are extremely pleasing, either on a cold grey day or a sunny afternoon; assisted as the daylight fades by the light of the moon and soft white clouds, or when the skies are dependent alone on "starlight mingling with the stars," minaret and dome look equally splendid against either background.

In daylight their architectural beauty is enhanced by the floral setting of masses of pink and scarlet geraniums and other glorious combinations of colour; at evening by the assistance of jets of light, emphasizing every ledge and profile of the beautiful outlines of Court and Treasure House, Torii, Temple, and Gateway. The whole concep-

tion is wonderfully thought out, and will be sure to leave a most pleasing impression upon all Englishmen and foreigners who have been able to pay the White City a visit, or contribute in any way to its success, as the outcome of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

This paper will only deal with the Japanese section of exhibits. The visits undertaken by the author were solely to inspect the contributions from Japan. The Imperial Japanese Household and Government, the Japanese Exhibitors' Association, the Tokyō Exhibitors' Association, the Kyoto Exhibitors' Association, and the Municipal Association are all represented. Loans have been sent over from Princes and Barons and other gentlemen of Japan, the Imperial Household Museum, the Fine Art Schools, the Department of Education, together with loans from temples and private collections, all contributing to make this wonderful display an education as well as a pleasing memory as time goes on.

A very great privilege has been accorded to our nation—far greater than the general public have any conception. We are viewing among the collections objects of art, of historic value and industrial work that many a native Japanese would count a high honour to be allowed to view. "Our country," we are reminded in the official guide-book, "has for the time being become the trustee of the much-prized art treasures of Nippon." Some of these are almost sacred belongings, made in an epoch of their history known as the term of "Great Peace." Dai Nippon (Great Japan) was then a sealed book to the world at large, with the exception of fourteen Dutch traders, who were content to be more or less favoured State prisoners.

Since the opening of the country in A.D. 1868, many hundreds of publications have come into the book-market; books written by experts, by specialists, by travellers, professors, and linguists, together with a great many by globe-trotters and snapshotters, kodak in hand. All these have set down their impressions.

The works of Morse, Anderson, Rein, Aston, Chamberlain, and others are legacies to mankind. These constitute the textbooks of the earnest stay-at-home student who is content to roam only in imagination over the breadth and length of Old Japan of the feudal days, when change was only sought by a few, but never found. Within the pages of these volumes are word-painted pictures of the past that have left lasting impressions on the minds of the few who have loved and studied and followed the fortunes of "The Fairest Isles of the Pacific Seas" from the very commencement of the Era of Enlightenment.

Through these books the lovers of Japan have caught the spirit of the past, and attuned their hearts to the ancient régime of the Island Empire, ruled by a Sovereign of Divine descent.

As we look around the Palace of the Fine Arts (No. 26), the question forces itself upon our mind—Should these priceless treasures be in any way associated, for instance, with the frivolous pastime of the Scenic and Mountain Railways, or the nerve-racking tortures of the exciting Wiggle-Woggle and Witching Waves?

Those of us within whose lifetime the great changes of Japan have taken place, remember how, only a short time ago, these priceless swords and trusty weapons of the nation's revered ancestors, were considered too precious for the possessor himself to examine or handle, unless animated with righteous wrath, or actuated to venture some bold and audacious deed for the services of a beloved liege lord. When we think of the religious labour and ceremony that was indispensable for the swordsmith to participate in, of the prayers and fasting and the purification compulsory for the swordsmith to observe; and when we read of the daring deeds that were accomplished on bloody battlefields by the aid of these weapons, a feeling of awe and veneration steals over our minds. How great a change must have come over the nation to permit us to hold these relics in our midst, to see them with our Western eyes, and to make our

casual remarks on their merits! Whatever sentiments their former possessors felt concerning the deadly possibilities of their treasures, they were never uttered within hearing. Widely divergent, without a doubt, to those expressed by the inquiring crowd that flows like a restless tide within the precincts of the Fine Art Palace day after day.

Luckily, or unluckily, few understand their priceless worth, or have learnt of the romance that surrounds these exhibits, or what constitutes their value apart from the substances of which they are created. The work put into them is unique—a lost art in these days of hurry and fret; yet always the memory lingers and surrounds as with a halo the noble array of brave warriors who wielded these wonderful weapons, and cherished them before all other earthly belongings, being the guardians of their honour and their loyalty. "The soul of the sword," the deadly and mighty blades, we shall not see. They were never withdrawn from their scabbards unless some great deed had to be accomplished, some insult avenged, or honour maintained.

The treasures displayed in the Japanese Fine Art Palace (No. 26) exemplify various industries that were perfected in the past. Besides the swords alluded to, there are other objects in metal and lacquer, artistic embroideries and carving, painting on paper and silk, architectural models and sculpture. These, it will be seen, are totally unlike modern products from the workshops, studios, and industrial homes of the twentieth century. The impress of the hand of Time has left its indelible mark upon them, which is as evident as the potter's stamp upon the clay, or the whitesmith's certificated sign, which attests the purity and value of gold and silver.

Various metals were selected from the very commencement of the art of metallurgy for use wherewith to express the designs intended to enhance the accoutrement of the soldier. These designs generally embodied deep symbolic

lessons. Without symbolism the work could hardly find favour. Through the medium of the form expressed or suggested lay the deep and often difficult lesson to be learnt by all who were more or less compelled to embrace a military career. Symbolism was the outward expression, the visible sign of the inward and spiritual conviction, the religious savour of the young samurai's life. Its subtle presence tutored the vacillating mind, and proved its monitor, either in peace or conflict. The high moral standard contained in the teaching of Bushido was embodied therein. It was a secret teaching, and, like all things hidden, yet ever present and very potent. The very root and essence of the flower of the nation, by which they attained perfection—the soldiers of Japan—were as perfect as any trained armies could possibly be in those glorious days of old which still reflect such honour over their land and the annals of the past history.

When we see upon these sword accessories a spider working at his web, a shower of cherry petals falling on snow, a flock of wild-geese peeping from an intricate reed shelter, or a dragon-fly poising in mid air, we are apt to wonder why such trivialities should have claimed the attention of the metallurgist for so precious a necessity as a defensive weapon—in fact, we might wonder why any design at all was needed for so stern a moment. But on reflection, and by means of research and inquiry, we find their interpretation :

The spider is the emblem of craft and perseverance. It is also found in conjunction with the mantis and the cicada ; these denote three special merits to be cultivated by those who carry arms—courage, craft, and humanity.

The cherry-blossom is a symbol of patriotism, and exemplifies the saying that, "As the cherry is first among flowers, so is the warrior first among men." Within its form is embodied the Yamato Damashii, the Spirit of Old Japan !

Wild-geese remind the soldier ever to be on the alert,

since a beloved hero of ancient times was warned of the existence of his enemies by the timely aid of wild-fowls among the reeds, in which they were hiding.

The dragon-fly is called the "Victory Insect," and is therefore the emblem of Conquest.

Lovely combinations of metals are exemplified in these cases that are on show in the Fine Arts Palace—Tsuba, Fuchi, Kashira; Kogai; Kosuka; Ojime, Menuki, and all other sword furniture. We cannot describe any of these in particular; it would be useless to do so; the catalogue supplied merely denotes the number of each, without reference to the particular work of any specimen. Shakudo, Shibuichi, Sawari, and other alloys can be studied, as well as damascening, inlaying, encrusting, chasing, tooling, and carving.

Shippo, or enamel work, principally in low shades of blue and green, variates in a charming manner the tones of the alloys, as well as the method of rich gold plating, sparingly used here and there with great discretion. Gold and black lacquer stirrups and saddles, together with heavy armour, prove how grim in ancient times was the array for war, how formidable and gruesome were the preparations for death or victory in the days when the fiat of King or Emperor was irrevocable.

Before the cases of armour exhibited we naturally pause, and wonder if the costly and cumbersome accoutrement of horse and warrior of the old type was suitably designed. Heavy helmets of lacquered wood, and iron mailed tunics, leg-guards, and sleeve-shields of lacquer or wood, metal-plated, brought together by chain-work and twisted silk braid, must have been cumbersome in the extreme, requiring much strength of limb, as well as will, to carry through the conflict. True, we are aware that, in the days when the soldier had to gird on these protectives, the armour had not to withstand deadly explosives at long ranges, but arrows let fly from short distances and hand-to-hand fighting. We know that the archers were great

experts in the use of their offensive weapons, and deadlier still in their aim with short and sharp knives, when brought up face to face at close quarters. The costly silken braid, as well as the inflated silken bag, worn in the days of Kusu-no-ki Masashigé and Kumo-gai Naozane, on the shoulders of fighting men, were the means of securing the arrows, if their deadly mission failed, either for retaliation, or as trophies of a well-fought field. Among the collection of exhibits is work from the hands of the most celebrated armourers. No. 345, Suneate (armour for the legs), by Miochin Munemasa, lent by Choga Imamura, Esq.; Nos. 334, 335, 336, one suit of hammered iron armour, lent by Masao Gejo, Esq.; Haramaki and helmet, lent by Kaichiro Nedzu, Esq.; Kote (armour for the arms)—this was used by Taira-no Noritsune, lent by Kasuga Jinsha, Nara. These are the work of Miochin Munesuke. No. 337 must not be passed over. It is a Muneate (defensive iron plate for the breast, with hammered dragon figures, and inlaid with gold). This is the work of Miochin Sosatsu, and is lent by Choga Imamura, Esq. The Imperial Household Museum also sends a specimen of the same armourer's work, a fragment of Kote (armour for the arms); this is numbered 338. There are other most interesting pieces besides the above explained in the official catalogue, which can be purchased in the Palace, and will be found most useful for reference.

These beautiful arts that are set down in our midst were perfected, in the first place, because the mind of the artist was concentrated on its task. Work received every possible encouragement. Competition was keen, partly because patronage was assured. The aristocracy of the land were self-constituted overseers. There was a demand for every perfect object. Every piece had its full share of praise, because only one treasure was shown at a time, to be subjected to the ordeal of the verdict of criticism and the censure of the expert.

A few remarks must be added respecting the collection

of paintings that are exhibited from time to time in succession. There is not sufficient room to show them all at once. Within the catalogue many familiar names are seen, whose work is better known to us by means of their colour prints, for which at the present time there is so great a demand. The Kanos, the Utagawas, Hiroshigé, Hokusai, and a great many other names are impressed upon our memory. These artists delivered over their work to be immortalized, by means of reproduction, from the incised cherry-wood blocks from which prints were manipulated. The earlier artists chose religious subjects for their theme; the later selected landscapes and naturalistic subjects, occasionally battle scenes, seldom portraits, though poets in the act of contemplation, or dancing-girls in rich attire, were sometimes favoured. Hishikawa Moronobu delighted more, perhaps, than any other artist to treat the human form, either in repose or action. The Torii school followed the same subjects, while Hokusai elected to paint all objects of greater or less account, from the glorious form of Fuji San, the peerless mountain, down to the meanest grade of insect life. A small selection of sculpture, chiefly wooden images of Kwannon and other favourite deities, ending with twenty Nō masks, dismisses that art in individual work. To make up for the scarcity of sculpture, wood-carving, wood-inlaying, and ivory-carving embrace many charming examples, and show what excellent work can be accomplished by the aid of the little sharp knife and the mighty mind of the art-worker. A few lacquered specimens of toilet-cases, writing-boxes, and masks are to be seen, also inro, one or two of which are from the hand of Korin.

The models of old buildings which arrest the attention at the very entrance into the Fine Art Palace reveal the genius of the ancient architects, and help us to appreciate the traditions of the past, wherein the self-sacrifice of the devotees contributed to make their temples meet for religious service. Nos. 320, facsimile reproduction of portable shrine, called Tama Mushi; 323, Phoenix Pavilion; 327

and 330 should on no account be passed by without inspection, or the Itsuku-shima, which is the oldest Shinto temple of Japan.

Among the modern works in metal, No. 116, which is described as an "Alcove Ornament," representing "a group of pigeons," shows to what perfection of life-likeness the metal-worker can mould and carve his material. Lacquer-work is but sparingly exemplified, also pottery and porcelain. The Nō masks and costumes are good specimens, and give a very fair representative show of the quaint and gorgeous costumes adopted for this ancient form of drama, in which alone the aristocracy were permitted to participate as spectators.

Whatever we have given to Japan, her art is unassailable when it is exclusively her own. Whatever our joint alliance may effect now or in the future, any alliance of Art, any suspicion of co-operation in this respect, spoils the work of both nationalities.

However fascinating this theme, we have but little time for reflections as we wander from one glazed case to another. There is so much to be seen, and so little time at our disposal, we are forced to hurry on in order to inspect the varied sights beyond and around us from the land of our allies.

These introductory remarks that emphasize the famous collections contained within the Japanese Fine Art Palace must now give place to other items, and in order to take a tour round the White City in sequence, a brief description of the sights that meet the eyes the moment the threshold is reached and the turnstile passed shall now claim attention, and be described for the benefit of those who are interested in Japan, but who are unable to avail themselves of the pleasure of a visit to the Exhibition.

Towering over visitors as they enter are models of the Guardian Ni-ō. These are two colossal figures of ferocious mien, the originals of which have often been described by travellers. These images have eyeballs starting from their

sockets, hands rigidly extended, portraying force and resolution, together with vindictive action. They remind us of a land of primitive faith, of the worship and belief in gods or demons, to be feared and not adored—adoration bordering too much on familiarity. In Japan these Ni-ô guard the portals of Buddhist temples. They are usually painted green and red respectively, and are sometimes called the "Two Venerable Kings" or the "Great Lords." Anyhow, their presence is very awe-inspiring and very terrible, at the same time somewhat fascinating to the British public by reason of their menacing attitude, reminding us of the gruesome giants of folklore literature, dear to the hearts of all children as well as grown-up people.

In order to touch ever so lightly upon the endless variety of things to be seen, we must pass next to what is called the Japanese Industrial Palace. We must look lightly over the twenty-four booths of cheap little souvenirs that have been carefully selected and shipped across the land and ocean from their island home to ours, divided by a distance of 14,000 miles. It was through the medium of cheap goods that knowledge was in the first place imparted to so many of us concerning this far-away island empire. It was the prettily-manufactured fans that first wafted the fame of Japan into many obscure homes, and that to-day decorate the sitting-rooms of the poorest peasants. These charming little artistic trifles have quite ousted the cheap German prints and the coarse pottery and glass ornaments, formerly hawked about from one village to the other by gipsies and itinerants. Souvenirs are always sought for those who are left at home awaiting their turn to visit pleasure resorts themselves. Although there may arise doubts as to the genuineness of all the goods displayed in the Industria section (No. 1), still, little conceits from the clever hands of the potter, the lacquerer, the basket-maker, artist, leather-worker, carver, and modern cloisonné artists are genuine by reason of the symbolism expressed in the designs. This symbolism may be only evident to a few; nevertheless it is

the hall-mark of true Japanese work, whether it is valuable or of little account. For instance, for the outlay of a few pence you can purchase in rough pottery a model of three exemplary monkeys, which are carved over the temple gateway at Nikko, dedicated to the memory of the immortal Iyeyasu, the founder of "Great Peace." These three monkeys cover up their eyes, their ears, and their mouths respectively, since they are blind, deaf, and dumb to the faults of others, and refuse to see, hear, or speak evil of anyone. Then there are little lidded boxes of pale-grey Banko ware, with animals recumbent on the lids, truthfully shaped, and just touched here and there with enamel in places that require emphasis, such as eyes, mouth, mane, or tail. These little boxes are possibly for sweetmeats, but can be used for the gentlemen's honourable studs to repose in at night, for the ladies' trinkets upon the dressing-table, or for the artist to collect his drawing-pins in a place of safety. Again, there are tiny teapots used by scribes for water wherewith to supply moisture to the ink-stone; there are beautifully-shaped baskets for confining fireflies and butterflies beneath the eaves of the house (a favourite amusement of Japanese ladies); there are baskets for picnic parties, for sweetmeats and cakes, for holding balls of cotton and silk; flower-baskets for suspending from the main centre stay of open-air houses; and others for which we cannot possibly guess their use, but only appropriate them as we think best to our own homes. There are also some charming hand-painted post-cards, leather purses, and card-cases, representing wonderful battles of ancient and modern times, replete with fastenings which at once stamp them with Japanese thought and handicraft. A clever contrivance of a drinking-cup, composed of a series of rings fitting closely into one another, and shutting up into a case that partly forms the cup, can be purchased for use on a warm summer day, and a host of other goods too numerous to mention in lacquer-work, carved ivory, cloisonnés, and other substances. Incense breathes benedictions around you, natives wait

courteously your commands and inquiries, while a little musumé of tender years will paint before your eyes a vase, a cup, or other trifle of faïence for quite a small remuneration. When, dazzled by the display, indecision reaches its height, the vender, who possibly cannot understand your language, but can see the evident distress in your unsettled mind, brings out from the deep recess of his booth some souvenir so utterly charming that it cannot fail to settle the question of barter or exchange. This one useful or ornamental treasure will, after all, possibly remain stationary in your home long after the crowd of busy people and the innumerable collection of their wares have passed away from our view beyond recall!

After inspecting these stalls we come to other modern goods of a more costly nature, fine and beautiful hand-painted ceramic, embracing examples from celebrated kilns, exquisite egg-shell china tea-sets, richly coloured vases ornamented with fine painting of flowers and native designs. All these are more or less selected to please the English-woman's ideals of comfort and beauty, such as cups with saucers and with handles, and the usual pieces for twelve guests, which has ever been the regulation number, five being sufficient from a Japanese point of view.

We must on no account pass Mr. Jubei Ando's store. It is situated just above an incline. Under the shadow of a gigantic model of a cherry-tree in full red paper blossoms stands a colossal vase in modern cloisonné. This naturally attracts considerable attention, even of those who are unacquainted with the labour and extreme difficulty of producing a piece of enamel of such dimensions. Mr. J. Ando, whose factory is established in Nagoya, has discovered and worked out many valuable departures in the art of Shippō Yaki. His translucent enamels, for which he decided that silver should be the groundwork, instead of beaten copper, hitherto chosen by experts of Japan, are on view. Though silver as a base was adopted in other countries, Mr. Ando, by the choice of this metal,

was able to introduce into Japan novel effects hitherto unknown.

The history of Shippō moves too slowly and with little incident. It is impossible to give a résumé of its history within this paper, but it must be stated, for the sake of giving Mr. Ando's masterpiece the full notice it deserves, that when Shippō work was first made, only very small pieces were called for. These were made in the form of plaques and rosettes of quite small dimensions, not larger than a threepenny-piece; they were soldered on, or inserted into the object under treatment of embellishment. Moreover, only a few colours were known. Much value is placed on these ancient plaques. The bricks made use of by Assyrian and Egyptian architects were treated with a preservation that was termed a glaze, but which really was a form of enamel. This enamel was applied to sun-dried bricks used for the Assyrian Palace at Ninrud, belonging to Assur-nazir-pal, who reigned from 885 to 860 B.C. In regard to the bricks in question, the enamel glazes of various tints were laid on as a coating. The art, after passing through many stages, seems to have culminated in this colossal vase, whose surface is traced over after the usual manner with the fine network of brass ribbons or wires, which constitute cells for the reception of single and minute portions of enamel. This triumph of Shippō Yaki is 4 or 5 feet in height. The founder of this difficult art industry flourished in Japan in the sixteenth century A.D., Hirata Donin by name. He was born at Mino, and worked at Kyōtō, where he received great encouragement from the Shogun Iyeyasu. The modern cloisonné is, of course, a great departure from the early work. The colouring is not so restful, neither does it appeal to collectors who prefer unique specimens; but immense energy is being shown in order to prevent the art dying out. For this reason this energetic manufacturer has sent over several inexpensive objects treated with enamel to meet the requirements of visitors to the Exhibition. These objects are pretty enough.

in themselves—studs and buttons, and diminutive vases and cups, tastefully treated. One little tray upon the counter deserves notice : it consists of six squares of copper, showing all the varying processes of the work—the design sketched on the foundation of the metal ; the cells fixed on, but unfilled ; the effect of each firing until the picture is completed.

Yet a few more words must be added in praise of other specimens which are shown in cases. These are objects which are treated in a style that is termed *cloisonné*. This particular treatment is effected by the process of removing and dispensing with the wires by the aid of sulphuric acid. So cleverly is this result manipulated that the treatment assumes the aspect of hand-painting more than enamel-working. Competition would have added to the interest of this lasting and praiseworthy industry. It must be most gratifying to those who work so diligently to feel how long their labours will endure.

The next item that arrests attention is the Japanese Horticultural Hall (No. 2A), where a somewhat surprising show of mimic forestry is to be seen. Miniature trees of over a century in growth, cut and pruned and carefully tended, exactly resemble the giants of the forest. In many instances the form is exceedingly beautiful. Some of these miniatures are in flower or fruitage. Lilliputian gardens are also cultivated ; some are supplied with pond and lantern, figures and pet tortoises, deer, or cranes. The receptacles that form the setting of these trees of curious age and growth are equally worth inspection. Maple and pine are the most favoured of the art gardeners, though beech and juniper, oak and willow, can be dwarfed by the same skilful process.

Here and there can be seen another branch of a gardener's vagaries ; ferns are trained to represent men and women, birds and animals, balls, and all sorts of curious designs—more curious than pleasing, exemplifying the versatile capacity of plant and expert. These diminutive trees

scarcely attain more than a foot in height. They certainly exercise a fascinating influence over the senses as we become more familiar with their presence. While these are being surveyed a murmur of sound is heard in the air above us. Glass bells are hung aloft; these create vibrations which are truly Oriental; in a manner that is soft and sweet and crepuscular, their sound surrounds us—just that little touch of music which falls as lightly on our ears as wandering petals of cherry flowers strewn upon our way by the sudden fury of a vernal equinoctial gale.

As we regretfully leave behind this unique display of an art which is certainly winning many English garden-loving people, especially amateur lady gardeners, to an avowed longing to imitate, we are hurried on towards the scenic representation of the four seasons as they alternate in Japan.

A winter's sky of intense blue heralds us into the Land of the Gods, where snow-laden boughs and hoary trees, whose tracery is indicative of the strength of winter's tyranny, stand out before us in charming contrasts. From this we pass on to the more subdued colouring that spring offers to the eyes of native and traveller whose sense of the artistic generally leads them from one land to the other. The fragrant wealth of the cherry-blossom crowns the landscape with a coronet of Flora's gems, set in the pale spring sunshine of purest gold, varying the shades of colour from pink to crimson, pure white to pearl shell, then finally to deep red. Within the confines of these floral tableaux little models of *ishidorō*, or stone lanterns, of shrines and bridges, guardian stones, homesteads, old moss-grown grave-stones and temples find a footing. Tall *torii* lead us on, and concentrate for our delight distant peaks and wooded slopes. Birds sing at intervals, waterfalls appear to assume motion; hydrangea are massed in beds of soft pink colouring; while so cleverly is this model disposed, it is difficult to decide for a time where objects merge into picture, or where peaks or paths are

real, or suggested by a few clever dashes of the fudé or paint-brush. All these seasons are modelled from celebrated spots of Japan, which some day, if not now, we may with pleasure identify.

Exhibits by the Japanese Government Railways, and Departments of Justice and Finance (No. 3), certainly offer attraction to a few visitors who are keen in watching the progress of our allies. Beautiful models must be on no account passed by, for some of the war-vessels are marvels of skill.

The Japanese Historical Palace, No. 12 on the plan, opens out a spectacle entirely divergent to anything else hitherto inspected. It has the supreme merit, which at least a few appreciate, of taking us back to the days of Old and Feudal Japan.

"The Red Gates of Nara"—this is the pilgrims' gate, and the original leads many faithful devotees to the Temple of Kasuga. It is held in great veneration by the Japanese, and we may count this gate, which is modelled faithfully in every detail, as one of the many privileges we have been permitted to enjoy.

The glorious epoch of the Nara Period, which dated from 700 to 800 A.D., affected in a most significant manner the annals of the history of Japan. It was in this epoch that religion was the motive power; it guided the hand of the painter, the sculptor, the architect, to great achievements. Royal patronage predominated, and fired the sister souls of the newly awakened Empire to deeds of great renunciation, inasmuch as they voluntarily gave up their valuable possessions (which were never very numerous) for temple service. Their priceless mirrors were collected for the melting crucible, to be transformed into bells and images. Mirrors that had been forged by master-smiths of high repute, and for which exorbitant sums of money had been gladly paid, were laid at the gateways of temples, for the casting of bells and for the forming of colossal images of Buddhas and saints. The hierarchy

of these is long, and the company of that which includes the worshipped throng, numerous.

The Nara period was the Golden Age of Art, not its zenith, but its resplendent dawning—a dawning that was slowly and surely to lengthen out towards the meridian of a splendid fame—an art that neither time or change will ever extinguish, that has influenced the past, and is influencing the present, but will most of all affect the future, however much the civilizing organization of other countries may arrest its progress and retard for a while its virility and expansion!

After our eyes have feasted on this beautiful Gateway, with its exquisite carvings and noble dimensions, we are brought face to face with a series of tableaux exemplifying various periods of history and their chief characteristics in succession. Their value is to prove the great dignity of national life in the early days of Dai Nippon, when class distinction was not only accepted in the true spirit, but when such a distinction brought its own reward, in that excellent qualities and traits of character became evident as the birthright of men of each degree; when Emperor, Prince, and warrior were clothed, not in supernatural splendour, but with a halo of veneration and romance which emanated from the glorious fidelity of their faithful subjects and retainers. This true fidelity has secured for the honoured dead of past generations an undiminished remembrance in the hearts of ancestor-worshippers to the present day.

It was the custom centuries ago for the Court of Japan to remove occasionally from one capital to another, and in Japan perhaps more than any other country the customs, manners, and ceremonial observances differed considerably in one centre and another. The religion may have in some way influenced changes among all classes; the rich as well as the poor were giving attention to the new faith that had been incorporated into the established tradition of the Shinto cult. Many were groping after convictions

that would once and for all settle and satisfy the craving for inward light and peace.

Thus it is that separate sections of this Historical Court are devoted to models of the different observances that predominated within the limit of each period of court centres :

The Nara Period, with all its expanding beauties, religious, and connected with art, A.D. 700-800.

The Heian Period, A.D. 800 to 900., which was affected by Indian thought and religious symbolism.

The Kamakura Period, A.D. 900 to 1200, influenced by the learning of women who proved themselves worthy of their self-imposed task, and who became teachers by the beautiful thoughts expressed in poetry and pure romance. These periods of time all had their value, and were the means of sounding a significant note which vibrated in hearts of true citizens, and called them to action, to religious fervour, to military perfection, to loyalty, and to literary attainments ; to the spirit of emulation, and even imitation, where the model exceeded the capacity of spontaneous inspirations.

The tableaux are prepared with extreme care and forethought. The figures are life-sized, and any accessory necessary for the complement of the picture represented is supplied with the best judgment and selection.

The tableaux are varied ; they cannot all be described. One representing ancient sport is perhaps interesting from the fact that it is rare to find that cruelty to animals was indulged in for mere pastimes. The Japanese have sometimes been credited with being a cruel race, but few of their national amusements bear that testimony. Brute force, or the love of shedding blood, or of taking the lives of the lower orders of creation for pleasure, is not one of their failings. Even those sports still eagerly participated in by the aristocracy, as well as the middle classes, of England or the Continent find no counterpart among the Japanese. Much to their credit !

The classic Nō Dance, through which the upper classes learnt the history of the land, and by which means their taste was cultivated for refined drama and elegant literature, is exemplified in one of these tableaux. Dresses and masks worn during this performance have been described above. They can be seen in the Fine Art Palace (No. 26) in glass cases.

"The Samurai and his family" shows how solemn were the vicissitudes of a soldier's life, how in times of peace and retirement the family gathered round the head of the household, and counted it a high privilege to wait his pleasure within his home while the land was devoid of strife.

The ceremonies and festivals that were instituted during the Tokugawa period, 1603 and onward, proves the remarks already set down in these pages. Being a period in which the country was cast back on her own resources, these ceremonials had their mission to fulfil. The Princes and aristocracy, who could afford the outlay, vied with each other in the costliness of all implements or utensils used during hours of entertainment and recreation. The tea ceremony, called Cha-no-yu; the incense-burning Ko Awase; the floating fan game; firefly-hunting, falconry, polo, chess, and a long list of quiet pleasures, all required little dainty attributes for the carrying out of each to a successful issue.

The tea ceremony has been already too often described, and, if needed, the rules of the pastimes above alluded to will be found in the *Transactions* of the Japan Society, London, published from time to time by Kegan Paul and Co., London.

"The Cherry-Flower Festival," Sakura-no-hana Matsuri, is one of unusual rejoicing, a festival in which all members of all classes may participate. In this tableau at the Japan-British Exhibition one of the prettiest items in its traditions is exemplified. A young and charming musumé, who has evidently successfully composed a delicate Tanka, or short poem, is bending a branch of a cherry-tree towards

her. Upon the branch she is tying the white strip of paper, upon which, in the flowing character of the Hiragana syllabary, her sentiments are inscribed. It is her wish that beautiful thoughts and heaven-sent fragrance may harmonize together by the assistance of the sun-laden breezes of spring.

"Japan of To-day," the last tableau of the show, need not be described or commented on. Our thoughts are very divided upon this subject, and so we will leave those who are living in these days of change to make their own observations and draw their own conclusions.

"The Garden of Peace" (No. 31) is a wide departure to what has gone before. It is delightful to turn aside from the busy throng for a little while and to enter the gateway of this enchanted spot, prepared with the greatest thought by one of the chief experts in the art of landscape-gardening. A Japanese artist-gardener was sent over for the express purpose of giving Englishmen a faithful model of a *jardin d'agrément*. Although the Japanese are a fighting nation, and have been forced by necessity to share the restless spirit of the age, within the sanctuary of their homes they still prefer to enjoy rest and peace in their surroundings. Within that peaceful garden there is no provision for games, noisy and exciting, that demand skill and serious practice to bring to a successful termination. Every plant and shrub, every tree, stepping-way and waterfall, lantern, and lake, is just in the right position. Those who have been tutored to read "sermons in stones" can ponder over the deep lessons of life by the aid of these "outward types of things we understand not."

All pastimes organized by the inmates of a home have been for centuries of a quiet and restful nature. For this reason we are quite prepared to find, among the chief items of interest in the programme of the attraction of the Japan-British Exhibition, space set aside for a "Garden of Peace."

Apart from all the symbolism that holds in its mysterious teaching the secret of peace, the dexterity of the transforma-

tion of what a short time ago was a barren waste is truly marvellous. To wander within it seems to calm even the motley crowd of sightseers, all bent on pleasure. The whole conception is truly artistic and charming. Plants are growing many of which are quite new to our country; each stands apart or in conjunction with others, for the sake of the silent lesson they have to impart, pruned and trained and persuaded by the expert's gentle hand to yield to any form he wishes them to assume. Stones also enter largely into the arrangements; each has been selected and placed with the greatest care, carried away from river beds and rocky, wave-washed shores. Their outlines have commended them, for each miniature monolith has a message to convey. There is a belief that stones can feel, and respond to the soul of the wanderer seeking for counsel and sympathy. They can become the monitors of all, who, in hours of deep meditation and perplexity, are willing to accept in this manner, companionship.

Trees can be pruned and suffered to branch in such a manner that they can convey ideographic messages to one another. These messages are understood by the way in which they have been placed in relative conjunction during the planning out of a garden.

Far away in the distance rises a belt of forest trees, deep green and blue in many shades against the skyline. This belt of forestry shuts out the striving city of busy life—of joy and sorrow, poverty and riches, death and life. So cleverly is this scheme manipulated, the eye and the senses are entirely oblivious to all that lies beyond. Halfway to the upland rising, nestles a little shrine; perchance within that moss-grown shelter Kwannon the Merciful listens attentively to one prayer of a lifetime. This goddess has many confidences in her keeping. A stone lantern relieves the density of the planting here, a bridge spanning a rivulet relieves the foliage there, while the stone basin is artistically placed wherein cool water is always in readiness to pour over the hands and refresh the forehead. The guardian

stones at the entrance add dignity to the whole plan, designed to impart quietness and rest to all who pass over the stepping ways of the tide-washed stone paths.

There is yet another model scene from Fair Japan—the Garden of the Floating Islands. This is set out in quite a different manner (No. 100). Although every plant and every stone has its message and its legendary significance to uphold, and each curve and branch of stone or timber have in their manner entered into a secret treaty with the master-gardener's intentions, there is a greater sense of freedom suggested to visitors as they enter. Each tiny island as it floats upon the lake must fulfil its mission and define its suggestiveness, for one is guardian over another, according to the way in which they are placed. There is the "Master Isle," and the "Guest Isle," and the "Wind-Swept Isle from the Sea." Trees also are planted in order to suggest nearness or distance even within so small an area as that appropriated to the Garden of the Floating Islands. One of the great ideas of the master-gardener is to suggest distance within a small compass, to gently elevate the ground, and so arrange the contents and materials and natural growths of vegetation in order to suggest a possible sea or great plain beyond. This plan is often adopted for a small acreage of land or enclosure.

Within the Garden of the Floating Islands visitors may partake of tea from the hands of the fair and sweet musumés, who have been trained as professional waitresses, dancers, and musicians. There is also on view special landscape-gardens of small dimensions, representing the typical scenery of Myajima, the Inland Sea, one of the most beautiful sights in Japan, considered by many one of the seven natural beauties of the world. These model gardens are tended and nursed with the greatest care; they are under a régime of arboriculture, so that they can change their aspect with the changing seasons. The tiny maple leaves turn to gold and varied shades of red and amber, the pine needles fall gently to the ground, and autumn's wealth of

colour will be upon them before they find their ultimate destination.

Turning away from these, visitors find other peeps of the Sunrise Island not far away. The Uji Village and Fair Japan in Essence, full of life and attractions, must at least be commented on, or visited even in a cursory manner.

Fair Japan, with her busy population, who still are content to work with their hands, assisted in so many cases with the help of their families, make a delightfully impressive picture. Machinery is not so necessary to the carrying on of certain trades and industries among them as with us. Weaving, carving, lantern-making, toys, fans, basket-plaiting, chasing and manipulating metals, painting pictures on silk or paper, shaping and decorating ceramics, can all be done by the united efforts of an artisan's family. You may watch the progress of these trades without the least suspicion that your curiosity one whit disturbs the tranquillity of the worker, so intent upon his occupation. On the contrary, even if our knowledge of the language is *nil*, or scanty in the extreme, some gentle-mannered workman will cleverly devise to convey his sentiments to you, or acquaint you with the price of his goods, which he understands by the way you linger over and retain you wish to purchase. He will count out the price by beginning to turn down his little finger first, and all the others in succession (we always count beginning at the thumb). By the light of intellect in his dark, oblique eyes, and by his willingness to meet your price and requirements, the bargain is generally concluded in a satisfactory manner. The calm indifference of the Indian worker is not the method of the Japanese. They are eager to push their goods and please their customers. They are not hurt by the rough and ready remarks of a staring crowd of pleasure-seekers, who sometimes overstep the bounds of courtesy.

In the Japanese booths two or three workers work together; as they work they chatter incessantly to each other all the day long, and smile at the passing crowd with

evident pleasure. The soft, sweet language of their native tongue is perfectly unintelligible, but they are quick to catch even a single word they can understand from the babel of voices around. In a moment a face will light up with an expression almost joyous if among the crowd is heard even a single word of their own language. They go about their work in a business-like way; their booths are as artistic as their costumes—simple in the extreme; their requirements seem few; they are cleanliness itself. Contentment and light-heartedness are their characteristics.

Sometimes, if a pretty English girl or band of friends stop to admire and remark on their work, the spirit is caught up immediately, and the courteous workman seems to become inspired to somehow or other make conversation that generally ends in mutual friendliness for the time being, and obvious alliance of passing goodwill.

A kneeling-mat of soft white reed or rattan, a few ball-shaped lanterns of deep red paper, a vase containing flowers symbolically arranged, together with a tray of simple tools, constitute their surroundings. Sometimes these are supplemented with an inexpensive *Kakemono*, or hanging picture; a box of sweetmeats, or a diminutive pipe, with a bowl not much larger than a pea. This luxury requires attention constantly, so that two or three workmen will contribute to supply the tobacco-box. When the three whiffs of the pipe have been enjoyed, the ashes will be knocked out, or the bowl replenished from the common store in readiness to be enjoyed half an hour hence. However hard the artisan works only about half a dozen articles of his stock-in-trade will be visible at a time; the rest will be stowed away in some odd or inconspicuous corner, to be brought out if necessary, as if by magic, in a way peculiar to the people. It is truly delightful to see all the members of one family working together. For instance, in a fan-maker's home the father will paint the fan faces, the son will split the bamboo for the frames, the daughter will adjust the ribs by the aid of red and white fine string, while in the back-

ground an elder relative will be hammering up the rivets, or carving the bamboo "parent" sticks with suitable emblems, with such patterns as that known as *neko-ma*, or cat's eye; or with that wondrous design that is suggestive of life without limit. For within the form of the fan lies some of life's greatest teaching for the Japanese to accept. This pattern of endless life is worked out by placing grains of rice in oblique open squares, and leaving one or two unfinished in order to suggest the possibility of another beat of time. This united effort on the part of a family to monopolize the work of their special trade is a remnant of the old days. It was formerly the custom, when necessity arose, to accept pupils, who were afterwards permitted to bear the names of their masters if their term of apprenticeship had been affectionately and faithfully carried out through the subscribed limit of years.

The homes of wood and bamboo or thatch, with windows small and paneless, their doors thrown open, and their storm-shutters removed, give a truly artistic effect to the Uji Village and Fair Japan at work; but should you wish to inquire into the lighter side of life, there are conjurers ready to beguile your time, clever troops of dancers and athletes, musicians and actors, awaiting your pleasure and presence, ready to perform when spectators by their numbers make it worth the while to do so.

Several displays of the art of wrestling can be witnessed on payment of an inexpensive toll. The wrestlers are somewhat severely trained; they physically exceed both in height and girth the ordinary well-grown Japanese. Wrestling is a very ancient institution, first organized during the reign of the merciful Emperor Suinin in 24 B.C. to A.D. 70. The father of the art was Nomi-no-shikuné, who first thought out the art of pottery, and instituted clay images to be placed with the illustrious dead instead of living retainers. It is a curious incident, but the throne of Japan was once wrestled for in ancient times, when the right of succession was under dispute.

The art of ju-jitsu is another form of wrestling which has for some time been known and practised in England. Its rules are very severe, and are only taught to those who have learnt perfect self-control. It is the secret art of sleight of body and control of will. This training is much encouraged by the Government, and forms part of the education of soldiers, policemen, and other servants of the Crown. So perfectly is it understood, and so deadly in its possibilities, that an offender of the law may be led to judgment by the thinnest possible length of twine bound round his arm, and yet be amenable to his custodian's wishes. The offender knows well enough his life would be in danger if he exhibited the slightest inclination to dispute the restraint.

Japanese Theatres and Halls of Magic have their attractions. They are supported by clever troops of performers who are untiring in their efforts to entertain sight-seers. In the land of Japan, where theatrical performances continue throughout the day, it is not overtaxing either strength or talent to entertain relays of visitors an hour at a time. Some of the scenic and conjuring displays are of the ordinary type, others savour of the craft and cunning of Eastern life, manifested in their folk-lore, fairy-world stories, and romances.

In the department of the Imperial Household is a model of the method of transporting timber down the river Kisotani. This transportation is carried out in Japan in a manner divergent to that adopted in most other countries. The timber is the prerogative of the Crown. Two hundred thousand trees are felled annually, and are valued at 1,000,000 yen.

Other models are on view, sent by the Tokyō municipality. Among them is "A Shogun's Mausoleum," and a "Gateway to the same." H.M. King George has graciously accepted this lovely lacquer-work model as a souvenir of the Exhibition from the Japanese Commissioners.

The War Department gives us good examples of the

changes that have been adopted in the soldiers' uniforms from 350 years ago to the Saigo Rebellion of 1868.

In the Naval Department eight models of ships can be examined, dating from sixteenth century. In this it will be seen that picturesqueness has given place to deadlier possibilities.

The Department of Communications deals with letter-carrying, locomotion, telegraphy, signalling, lighthouses, and all other methods of transit of thought.

Exhibits from the Forestry Bureau are equally interesting; also from the Marine and Mining Bureau, and all other departments in which great improvements have been undertaken.

In the Education and Industry Building (No. 47), manufactures from willow, ferns, and wistaria, straw plats, bamboo, vases, and a host of other industries peculiar to the people, claim attention by reason of these manufactures occasionally coming into our markets, particularly at Christmas-tide.

The Museum of Natural Resources (No. 21) contains instructive models, showing how rice and tea are cultivated and prepared for the market. Choice products are also on view, both in their natural state and their ultimate use. Fruit and berries unknown to our palate, medicines and useful herbs, minerals; materials for fabrics chiefly used for native costumes, and other exhibits of a highly interesting nature, greet the visitor at every turn. The progressive education and rearing of silkworms, and of the manifold uses of raw material after the silken thread has been produced by the industrious worm, can be studied. This study will lead many to appreciate more fully how often the little workers of insect life contribute to our comfort and our luxury. The necessary stages of reeling, sorting, dyeing, spinning, and weaving up into lovely varieties and qualities of silken fabrics, should delight lovers of silk blouses, tea-gowns, evening dresses, and many dainty attributes of dress so dear to most Englishwomen.

The silkworm was supposed to have been introduced into Japan in the fourth century, when venturesome priests secreted the worms in the hollow of their walking staffs. These priests, who travelled from India and China by way of Korea, gave silkworms as presents, with instruction of how to rear and relegate them to usefulness, and as a means of trade to the converts of the new faith of Amida Buddha.

While passing from one hall to the other, from stately palace, fine art museums, dainty tea-houses, and all that constitutes the plan of the great White City, the Japanese band performs music, at intervals, of a very high-class order. Their performances are carried through by a most efficient conductor. Crowds are attracted and held entranced. This national Japanese band is one of the chief successful features of the Exhibition. The musicians delight with their stringed and wind instruments even non-lovers of music by their inspiring concerts. The bandstand occupies the conspicuous centre of the beautifully laid-out ground.

There is so much to describe even yet, but as this paper is already exceeding its limit it must, after all, be incomplete.

The Japanese Exhibitors' Association have courteously presented to those interested in their country a dainty advertisement of their special departments. A map is given on the cover showing where all objects of interest from Japan may be found. This should prove most useful to the fortunate recipients, for many visitors go, and come away with a feeling of disappointment that they have not seen much from Japan after all.

In the Japanese Textile Palace (No. 13) several hundreds of exhibitors have contributed in order to bring before the eyes of the English public the various goods that are turned out of their manufactories and the homes of the individual workers all over the Sunland. The exhibits, which are on sale, and can be purchased, but not removed before the

close of the Exhibition, include furniture and other articles made of wood, fancy matting, carpets, tapestry curtains, cotton and hemp fabrics, lace and embroidery, gold and silver thread-work, paper and leather goods, stationery, and a host of other useful and ornamental requisites.

Soft matted seats are provided where rest may be enjoyed while viewing these beautiful examples of workmanship and industrial labour. Here may be examined the interior of a Daimio house, with guardian dogs, cunningly carved to guard the entrance, chairs of exquisite design, and quaint andon, or lanterns, raised to the level of requirement, while formerly they were placed upon the floor. Soft white tatami, or mats, that appeal most invitingly to the tired feet of weary visitors, can be viewed but not tested. Incense is always present, adding refinement to luxury. Courteous assistants are on the alert to answer innumerable questions, and aid would-be purchasers to make their decision and select a suitable souvenir of the endless articles for sale. The fabrics are simply "dreams of beauty." Breadths of soft and elusive silks, of all the exquisite gradations of tint the dye-vat can control. Subtle tones of light and shade ever creep in a dreamy, delicious movement over the fabrics as they are taken up, examined, and envied. Lifelike representations of sprays of flowers, falling petals, birds in flight, and grass and rush in movement, swirling streams and floating seagulls, poising mid-air or dipping dangerously near revolving waves, are stencilled or embroidered upon these fabrics. Materials of all kinds and degrees of beauty and worth dazzle the eyes and bewilder the senses in the over-anxious task the mind has imposed upon itself of selecting the very best examples of the art manufactures of these wonderfully artistic people.

The cabinet work of lacquer, metal and carving combined, draws many to the cases where best examples are shown, but that which has charmed most of all are the embroidered screens. The pictures worked upon the silk panels draw forth endless praise, not alone from those who are eager to

take away a good impression of all they see, but from artists of our land who with pigments, pen, and pastels, create masterpieces for our delight. The soft, fine silk strands of infinite ranges of shades when well manipulated are made to represent pictures that seem alive. The "lion screen," the "peacock screen," the "rabbit screen," and that upon which wild fowl has been embroidered, are really exquisite. The manner in which the high lights are represented by a little more lavish use of the fine silk endows the effort with such lifelikeness that all who tarry to criticize can hardly believe it is by the patient appropriation of each single thread in exactly the right position that such an illusionary effect can be obtained. The paper goods, such as envelopes and quires in rolls, wherewith to write on, do not escape the artist's consideration; in fact, to sum up the whole display of these Oriental goods, there is but one conclusion, that has often been remarked, and must here be remarked again—*the Japanese are a nation of born artists*. May their individuality in these and a hundred other ways never waver, for it is by this individuality that they claim of us, as well as other nations, the attention which to-day and every other day, long after the Japan-British Exhibition remains open, will be manifested in a hundred ways by the innumerable crowds that have daily visited her Courts and Palaces!

Before this paper is closed a few words must be added in reference to two distinguishing features of the Exhibition not yet touched upon—the "Ainu Village" and the "Formosa Sha." These are the homes of races, who, though so divergent, are ruled over, and are under the protection of, H.I.M. the Mikado of Japan. It is between Yesso, the extreme north, and Formosa, the extreme southern island, that the people whose work adorns the great White City live and move and have their being. The Ainu, who occupy part of Yesso, are dying out; their race is gradually becoming extinct, partly because they will not intermarry with the Japanese, as well as other reasons. They are

consequently being driven into a smaller area, for the Japanese are pushing northward in order to protect their extremes of territory. Long, long ago the Ainu enjoyed greater freedom; they were distributed all over Japan; the tide of events in the history of the Island Empire tossed them hither and thither, according to the favour and fortune of internal warfare. Many of the Japanese families have come of Ainu stock. But time has changed so much, and they share none of the dash and energy, expansiveness in business, and interest in future possibilities, that is manifest in their conquerors. The Ainu have their good characteristics; they are of gentle disposition, quiet in manner, and somewhat dignified in bearing, decidedly fine in points of physique.

Those who visit the Ainu village will come away impressed with the dignity with which the Ainu are bearing the present ordeal of being objects of curiosity of a large and constant crowd of sightseers. Those who stare in at the half-open door of the hut will see a man of advanced years sitting cross-legged upon a mat, returning with the dignity of an Emperor the bow made to him that his presence seems to demand. They will also notice a proud dark girl with a hideous tattoo round her lips, reaching from ear to ear. Occasionally she looks out of the sacred east window of her home and contemplates with just scorn the scrutiny of the crowd; while she silently endures with fortitude that is born out of hereditary pride the temporary exile from her ancient land. The longing expression in her set gaze for the secluded home so far, far away adds the touch of pathos that is needed to arouse our sympathy towards this interesting aboriginal race. Their dress is picturesque; it is chiefly blue and white and black, embroidered in wonderful patterns. Their hair is thick and dark. Their homes are devoid of luxuries of any kind. A clever arrangement for cooking and warming the apartment is placed in the centre of the room. A few tokens or charms against evil are present. The sleeping-mat in one

corner is occupied in the daytime by the industrious housewife, who plies her needle with dexterity to coarse hempen material for winter's use. The Ainu are very superstitious. They reverence the bear, and after a prescribed time will kill and eat the object of their worship.

From this extreme northern region of Japan we turn to the Island of Formosa. The natives have been persuaded to leave their wild island life in order to make the Exhibition as complete as possible. Those who at present occupy the Formosa Sha are a savage and rebellious people, warlike and excitable in the extreme. They are head hunters, and delight to exhibit the spoils of their cruelty upon their weapons. Long tresses of human hair depend from the implements of the chief of the tribe. Without these trophies and weapons they would not consent to cross the ocean, in order that in a strange country their capabilities might strike terror in the minds of all who came to inspect their compound. Their war-dances and methods of eating are not pleasant to witness. But the Formosa Sha will deepen our interest in the civilizing influence that Japan will bring to bear upon her Southern subjects.

All things come to an end. Three repeated visits have yet left many items in the vast array of exhibits unseen, and many that were seen *en passant* undescribed—beautiful models and exquisite carving, hand-made goods and individual work, valuable loans from all parts of the island, from Palace, Temple, historic godowns, and private collections.

The Allied Exhibition, which has received the royal support of both nations, cannot fail to leave a deep impression of a pleasing nature, and ever be counted as one of the great achievements of the year A.D. 1910.

Whatever other country may make the great White City an attraction in the future, it is to be doubted if ever such a valuable catalogue of ancient and modern treasures, manufactures, hand-made work of all trades and industries, will ever repose again within its many palaces.

The crowd disperses, the lights are extinguished, the mantle of night falls over the glories of the Orient. Sayonara, Beloved Japan. Medetai toki, O Medetō gozarimasu*!

* Farewell, Beloved Japan! A time for congratulation. I wish you all prosperity and joy.—TRANSLATION.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, June 29, 1910, a paper was read by Dr. T. L. Pennell, M.D., B.Sc., F.R.C.S., on "The Tribes on our North-West Frontier." The Right Hon. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagjee, K.C.I.E., Sir Steyning William Edgerley, K.C.V.O., C.I.E., the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Colonel E. R. J. Presgrave, C.B., D.S.O., Mr. W. Irvine, Mr. R. A. L. Moore, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Mr. Owen Dunn, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. E. Marsden, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. and Mrs. J. Walsh, Mr. R. Nundi, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. E. Rosher, Mr. G. S. Sundaram, Mr. J. C. Das, Mr. and Mrs. J. Berry, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. Gerald Ritchie, Mr. K. Knox, Miss Beck, Mr. Luttman Johnson, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mrs. Berkeley, Professor N. N. Bose, Mr. K. Chowdry, Miss Vrydenberg, Mr. J. N. Athawall, Mr. M. Ishmail, Mr. N. Lall, Miss Annie A. Smith, Mr. Syed Hossein, Mr. Seshagiri Raghavendra Rao, Mr. Abdul Majid, Mr. Leighton Jordan, Miss Fry, Miss Toynbee, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to say much to you. I think a Chairman under most circumstances had better say as little as possible. You all know what we are here for, and I have no doubt we shall have a very interesting lecture. After it is over I shall be glad if any of those present will make any remarks which may occur to them.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Dr. Pennell is going to show us some views before we close, but in the meantime I should like to ask whether anybody would wish to make any observations on the lecture we have heard. If so, now is the time to make them.

MR. THORNTON observed that the subject of the paper was one with which he was familiar—as he held the post of Secretary to the Punjab Government (which then had charge of the frontier administration) for twelve years, and had more than once marched down the frontier—and he would mention that he was at Tanh (near Dua Ismal Khan) when the terrible accident occurred which deprived the Government of the services of the late Sir Henry Durand, the father of our distinguished Chairman. He would not attempt, on the present occasion, to deal at any length with the interesting questions raised in the paper, but confine himself to saying a few words on the "Afghan" and "Pathan" controversy, and would ask whether the writer of the present paper had ever seen the paper written on the subject by the late Dr. Bellew. Dr. Bellew was a distinguished *Pushkri* scholar, and was of opinion that the word *Pathān* meant simply *hillman*,

and that the word *Afghán* had the same meaning, being derived from an *Armenian* root signifying *mountain*, Armenian tribes (of the fighting class) being formerly dominant in the western hills. With regard to the alleged derivation of Patháns and Afgháns from immigrants from the ten tribes of Israel, two reasons are assigned—first, their Jewish physiognomy, and, secondly, certain genealogies quoted by Persian writers. With regard to Jewish physiognomy, this is not confined to Afgháns and Patháns, but is observable in all Semitic races. As for the genealogies, they are not traceable to an earlier period than the time of Jehangír. At that time, we are informed by a learned native writer, Afgháns and Patháns were reproached for having *no ancestors*, and to remove the reproach the genealogies deriving the tribes from "Saul the son of Kis" were deliberately manufactured. Time would not admit of his dealing at present with any more of the various interesting questions raised in the paper. Suffice it to say that the situation on the Punjab frontier seems much the same as it was when he was there more than thirty years ago. Many of the amusing stories told are "very old friends."

COLONEL C. E. YATE said he would like to bear testimony to the extraordinary good work done by medical missions on the north-west frontier of India—good work which, he felt sure, had been brought home to all present by the interesting lecture they had just listened to, and by the pictures they had just seen. Some of these pictures referred to Quetta, and, as an old resident of Quetta, he could speak from personal knowledge as to the splendid work done there by the C.M.S. medical missionaries. In his opinion there was no better way of getting hold of the people on the frontier than by these medical missions. It gave him great pleasure to testify to the good work they are doing, and he could only say that he hoped that these missions would be augmented in every possible way, and that the number of European medical men might be increased.

MR. K. CHOWDRY said they were very much indebted to Dr. Pennell for the very able paper he had read. He thought the question of the frontier tribes had been a vexed question for a long time, and still remained a complicated one, and said it was the desire of the Indians that once for all this question of aggression or forward policy which Dr. Pennell had alluded to should be settled. He understood that so far Dr. Pennell had not made any definite suggestion as to the future policy of the British Government towards these tribes; he thought the best policy would be to improve them by love, which had been done by the missionaries, and not by the sword. He had heard from one of his friends—the Hon. Montague Waldegrave—who was working up there that the Afghans appreciate the work, and they are gradually won by love as well as by the medical aid rendered to them. He would like to say one word more regarding Dr. Pennell's reference to Hindus and their money-lending methods. He thought it was fair to call them Marwades, because the better class of Hindus looked down upon the Marwades for their fleecing habits, and he did not think it right that anyone who is not familiar with the matter should go away with the idea that the Hindu is a fleecing person; that he wished to draw that distinction.

MR. MOORE said he would like to make one remark only, and that was with reference to the instances of customs quoted by Dr. Pennell, which, he suggested, showed that certain of the frontier tribes are descended from the ten lost tribes of Israel. Dr. Pennell had mentioned one custom—that in the case of pestilence or some widespread disease a priest sometimes took a goat and placed his hands on its head, and, repeating certain verses from the Quran, committed the sins of the people to it, and then turned it out on the mountains. He would like to say that the custom of turning out an animal is common not only with the frontier tribes. In the Deccan the animal chosen is not a goat; it is a buffalo. When cholera attacks a village, it is a very common thing for the villagers to put the red caste mark on the head of a buffalo, garland it, and turn it out of the village with a view to its carrying the cholera into the next village. Sometimes they chose a low-caste woman, and they turned her out similarly to carry away cholera, smallpox, and sometimes the plague. That seemed to him to resemble the custom which Dr. Pennell had mentioned. Dr. Pennell mentioned one other custom—that, when a member of the household is seriously ill, the senior member of the family takes a goat or a sheep, and, after despatching it, smears some of the blood over the door-post. He had heard of a similar custom in Sind. He believed that when a bride was first taken to her husband's house the mother-in-law cut off the head of a black hen and smeared the door-posts with its blood to keep out devils. He thought that was a similar custom to the one mentioned by Dr. Pennell, and, in view of these similarities, he ventured to suggest that these customs which Dr. Pennell had instanced were not very strong evidence that the Afghans were descended from the Israelites. The customs attributed to them are more or less in vogue among people who had no claim to Jewish descent.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I will not say very much myself, but before I sit down I am sure I can express your gratitude to Dr. Pennell for his very interesting lecture. It has been not only interesting but instructive.

I am quite sure that Colonel Yate is right in what he says—that nothing is more conducive to good relations with the tribes than medical missionary work. I have seen something of it myself, and I fully agree with him. I am glad to hear from Dr. Pennell that he is able to get about freely among the tribes. Until comparatively lately that was not so.

Mr. Chowdry has suggested that these tribes should be won over by "love" rather than by force. It is an excellent suggestion, no doubt, and, as far as I can see, Dr. Pennell is doing his best to carry it out. While we are on that point, I should like to remark that the whole policy which some people now call the forward frontier policy is to a considerable extent based upon that very principle. When Sir Robert Sandeman broke over the border and started the forward policy in the great southern portion of the frontier, Baluchistan, his policy was one, not of force merely, but of conciliation, and that was really the foundation of his striking success. Dr. Thornton, who has written his life, knows this better than I do. He could tell you that the fundamental principle of Sir Robert Sandeman's

policy was to conciliate the tribes, getting in among them and making friends of them. It is a great mistake to suppose that he represented the policy of mere force; nothing of the kind. Colonel Yate, I think, will bear me out there.

There were three great divisions of the frontier belt. There was the southern division of Baluchistan, the Pathán division, which Dr. Pennell has chiefly dealt with, and the northern division, which has been called the Dard division, and is not Pathán. Dr. Pennell has dealt with the most difficult portion, perhaps, of the whole—the central Pathán division, where, the people, according to somebody, have more of God in their creed and more of the devil in their natures. The forward frontier policy originally started in the south in Baluchistan, and it was generally supposed to be only applicable to the south. But Sir Robert Sandeman's method of dealing with the tribes was, he always declared, applicable to the rest, and he did in a certain measure show that he was right by taking in a number of the Pathán tribes and extending to them that policy of conciliation, getting in among them, and not merely treating them as wild beasts and shooting them when they misbehaved. The policy has now extended almost all along the frontier; but it has been to a very great extent misjudged, because people have not understood that at the bottom of it was the idea of conciliation. I think we ought to do Sir Robert Sandeman the justice in future of understanding that this was his view.

I have heard one or two remarks made about the question of the Israelite origin of the Afghans. I quite agree in what has been said that one cannot trust too much to resemblances in customs, but there is a very strong feeling among the Afghans, as I know personally, that they are descendants of the Israelites. I think everybody who has been to Afghanistan will bear me out in saying that if you talk to an Afghan quietly for a short time he will be sure to tell you that he is descended from the Ben-i-Israel. The Afghans tell the whole story most accurately, or, at any rate, in great detail. They thoroughly believe in it themselves, and they certainly do bear a very striking resemblance to the Jews both in their features and their faces and, I think, in their character. If you read the stories about the ancient Jews it is curious how like they are in character to the present Afghans—the same wild courage and the same tendency to extraordinary panic. I could follow up the subject much further.

There is only one other thing I should like to say before I sit down. Dr. Pennell has, in the course of his lecture, assumed that the Ameer treated the border tribes a great deal better than we know how to treat them. I rather venture to demur to that. I think if you look back at history you will find that the Ameer did not manage his frontier tribes at all well; he was always in trouble with them. As a matter of fact, they were very independent and very troublesome, and gave him a great deal more worry, I think, than they give us. I believe that we are doing our best to treat them in a reasonable way, that we have been forced to take up the position which we have taken up with regard to them, and that we are trying to be as conciliatory as possible. At the same time they must be made to understand that if they will misbehave

themselves it is not a question of "love," but a question of hammering. How you are to get out of that I do not see.

DR. PENNELL: I thank you, Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen.

COLONEL YATE: Before we part I hope, ladies and gentlemen, you will all join with me in a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Mortimer Durand for so kindly coming and presiding over our meeting here. We are all indebted to him, and I am sure we all agree with the remarks which he has made on the subject, and I can only say that I hope we may have him here again to preside over the meetings of the East India Association.

The proceedings then terminated.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W., on Wednesday, June 29, 1910, the Right. Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., President, in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir Steyning William Edgerley, K.C.V.O., C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. W. Irvine, Mr. R. A. L. Moore, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Owen Dunn, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The SECRETARY read the Report for the year 1909-1910.

MR. WILLIAM IRVINE: I am such a recent member that it is a very unexpected honour to be called upon, but I have great pleasure in moving the adoption of a very satisfactory Report. I have taken the trouble, having a statistical mind, to count up the new elections, and I find there are thirty-nine in excess of the resignations and deaths. That is always a satisfactory sign. I beg formally to move the adoption of this report.

SIR M. BHOWNAGREE: I have much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report. I think the record of the work of the past twelve months bears out the impression which we have received since Dr. Pollen has been appointed honorary secretary: that he has imported into it fresh energy, and a very great deal of interesting work. I believe the measure of popularity which the Association enjoys is, to a very large extent, due to Dr. Pollen's efforts; and since we know the secretary can make or mar the fortunes of a society, I think we can congratulate ourselves on the fact that we have him for our secretary.

I had felt for a long time that in the membership of the Council of this Association there was rather a disproportion of Bombay men; but it is gratifying to feel that now Bombay is well represented. The chairman of the committee is Lord Lamington, late Governor of that presidency, who, I may say in passing, deserves exceedingly great credit for finding time to devote to the arduous work of his office amid the numerous engagements and engrossing occupations of his life.

I think there has been some division of opinion as to the decision at which the Council of the Association has arrived, after a great deal of consideration, on the question of joining what is known as the Amalgamation Scheme set on foot by Lord Morley. I myself think, from the point of view of the Association—of course, we can look at a matter like that

from a great many different points of view—but from the point of view of the Association, of which I have had the honour of being a member for a great number of years, I think that by not joining that scheme the Association, at all events, preserves its independence. Its work, to a very large extent, is of a peculiar character. That work is of such a nature that the combination of the Association, the fundamental basis of whose existence is the elucidation of subjects involving political considerations, with societies of a purely social character, would certainly, to some extent, have modified its utility. Therefore, I for one, to a certain extent, rejoice that the combination has not come about. Of course, I can understand that there is another point of view of looking at the matter, and it might be certainly a matter of regret to some that the combination did not take place; but, on the whole, after taking into account all the considerations that appertain to this important subject, I believe that, for the sake of the Association, it is as well, perhaps, that the combination has not taken place. Besides, if it has not taken place just now, it is not certain that it may never take place. I do not know that, perhaps, at a later date, it may not be possible to effect that combination, but for the present, so long as the scheme is on its first trial, I think it is to the interest of the East India Association that its members should feel that it entirely maintains its independence.

With these few remarks I beg to second the proposition for the adoption of the Report.

The CHAIRMAN: Does any other member wish to ask any question or make any observation on the Report?

MR. MOORE: Might I make a remark on the Report? What I wish to say is this: I see, taking the total expenditure of last year, that it was £453. The Council have decided to add £12 a year to the salary of our clerk, which, I think, is thoroughly deserved. That will bring the expenditure up to £465. Supposing that is an average annual expenditure, our income from investments is £211, and it then follows that we must have at least 200 paying members—that is, those who pay £1 5s. a year—in order to pay our way at all. I believe we have got 210 at the present moment. Therefore we are slightly above the Plimsoll mark, but not much. My suggestion is this, that, in order to attract members to the Association, we should have papers on what may be called “live” topics—burning questions. I notice with the very excellent pamphlets that are issued by the Association there is a printed notice that the Association does not hold itself responsible for the opinions expressed in those pamphlets. I think that is very right indeed. I would suggest that the Association should give a similar notice with regard to the papers read, and that they should take care, if possible, to invite persons, if they know the views of the lecturer for the time being, to come and state the opposition views on the question. They will not be responsible for the lecture, or what is said in opposition to the lecturer, and probably the result will be interesting discussions, interesting meetings which will attract members, and the Society will be kept above low-water mark, and be able to pay its way in the future.

THE HON. SECRETARY: It has always been the policy of this Society not to commit itself in anything which is set before it. The papers have been read for the purpose of public discussion, but I am speaking in the presence of Mr. Thornton, who is the senior member of the Council present, and he will bear me out when I say that we have never been known to record a resolution on any of the papers read before us. We have been, perhaps, a little shy of dealing with what my friend Mr. Moore describes as "burning questions" or "live topics"; but the papers which have been read, as your lordship is aware, have to be passed by a literary committee, and unless they are practically unanimous the paper is not passed. I understand that this recommendation of Mr. Moore will receive the attention and consideration of the Council in due course.

MR. T. H. THORNTON agreed with Dr. Pollen that the object of the Association was not to "run" a policy, but to afford opportunities for Indians as well as Englishmen to discuss questions of interest relating to India, such discussions to be free, but always conducted in a loyal and temperate spirit. He hoped this principle, which was strictly in accordance with the objects of the Society when first established, would be maintained.

MR. MOORE: Might I be allowed to make one further remark? My words were not intended to criticise the methods of the Society in the matter of discussion, which I think are highly commendable; but, with regard to the choice of topics which are placed before us for discussion, I think more interesting topics might be chosen. May I be allowed to add that I do not wish in any way to criticise our Honorary Secretary, Dr. Pollen? He is most certainly the motive power, as far as I can see, of the Society.

THE CHAIRMAN: The adoption of the Report is moved and seconded. Those who are in favour of the adoption please signify the same in the usual way. (Carried unanimously.)

SIR M. BHOWNAGGREE: I beg to propose that his lordship will continue to be president of the Association for the ensuing year. I do not think the proposition requires any remarks from me. Lord Reay has now been known since 1883, I think, in connection with India, and, speaking from some personal experience, both in India and here, I may say without fear of contradiction that I know of no English friend of India who has taken so abiding, so sympathetic, and so continuous an interest in the welfare of the people, and if this Association is to claim the adhesion of the people of India, besides that of the large body of distinguished Anglo-Indians who form the great bulk of its membership, then I may claim that there is no name more fitted to be at the head of this Association than that of Lord Reay.

MR. THORNTON: I merely say I cordially second the proposal of my honourable friend, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree.

MR. COLDSTREAM: I have great pleasure in supporting this proposal. I cordially agree with Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree in the few words which I have heard fall from him at this moment, and I hope that the Association will do itself the honour of electing Lord Reay to the post to which he is now

nominated. It is hoped there will be a period of greater life in our Association, that we may go on from a condition of comparative stagnation (if I may venture to call it so) into which we had fallen not very long ago, and that we may now look to some amplification of our methods, and some more definite results. I have great hopes from the publication of many of those pamphlets which have been issued during the last year. I may say that personally I have found them useful. I have given them to my young Indian friends, and I find that they are appreciated; and I feel that if we are wise in the selection of the topics, and of the writers, so that the subjects may be handled sympathetically, and at the same time wisely, we may look to real results in this effort which has been made. I have much pleasure in supporting the nomination.

SIR M. BHOWNAUGREE: I am very glad that it should fall to my lot to put this motion to the meeting. Those who are in favour of the proposal please signify in the usual way. (Carried unanimously.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I am very sensible of the manner in which my re-election has been moved and adopted by this meeting. I admit that I had to consider whether the time had not come to ask some one younger, and with more recent experience of India, to take this chair; but, on the other hand, I feel so strongly that as long as I am able to show my interest in India it is my duty to take an active part, and that under those circumstances I beg to thank you for your confidence, and I shall try to be worthy of it.

Now I must make a few observations with regard to the Report. The Report shows, in the first place, the great activity in recent times of the Council, under the distinguished chairmanship of my friend, Lord Lamington, and with the energetic and genial co-operation of the great working bee of the Association, Dr. Pollen. I am sure that we are all very much indebted to him for the unstinted manner in which he gives time and thought to the development of this Association.

Mr. Moore has made some observations on the lectures, and they also apply to the various leaflets which have been issued by the Society.

MR. MOORE: To the lectures only, may I say?

THE CHAIRMAN: No doubt there are two ways in which an association, and any individual, can show their neutrality; because I take it for granted that we are all agreed that this Association should carefully maintain a neutral attitude in all questions that may be considered of a controversial nature. Now, you can do that in two ways: you can either exclude from your lectures—and I apply it to the leaflets, too—all subjects on which there is controversy, or you can give to the various parties facilities at this Bar to come and explain their views, and then you have in this Association a field for discussion, and, as has been very well said by Mr. Thornton, whom we are all so glad to see here to-day as the senior member of the Council, that discussion should be temperate. I may, perhaps, mention one rather burning question. There is not the slightest difficulty in asking Sir Roper Lethbridge to come and defend, with the warmth which is inherent in him, the principle of Tariff Reform for India; and I hope there never will be any difficulty either in finding an advocate of Free

Trade on the other side. It is a subject which, I think, is eminently worthy of our consideration, which touches vitally the interests of India, on which we all hold, whatever views we may take, our conviction, with pertinacity, and even, I suppose, obstinacy; but this Association, as far as I am aware, gives to both sides what the French would call a tribune, from which they can expound their opinions. The line must be drawn somewhere. I think that the Association must carefully avoid everything that might savour of a personal nature. That is very much to be deprecated, and I should regret it; but there are many topics on which, as I have said, different views are held, and which can very well be discussed here, the Association at the same time maintaining its independence, and, as Dr. Pollen has pointed out, no resolutions are passed here. Therefore everyone leaves the meeting, where a great controversy has been raging, convinced that if there had been a resolution he would probably have obtained a majority of votes.

I have already stated how much we are indebted to Dr. Pollen. To my great regret, Mr. Pennington is not here, but he certainly deserves our warmest thanks for the manner in which he also devotes himself to the interests of this Association. I must ask Dr. Pollen to convey that expression of our gratitude to him.

Now I wish, in the first place, to allude to the more prominent losses which this Association has incurred. We have lost a man who, those who knew him, all admired. I am alluding to the Venerable Archdeacon Baly, who was Archdeacon of Calcutta in the seventies, and was well known for his wit, his geniality, his eloquence, and good-fellowship. Then I must also recall the loss of Baron Reuter, the managing director of the Reuters'. We all were indebted in India to the telegrams Reuters' gave us. Then also we regret the death of the young Sher Khan Bahadur of Radhanpur, who fell a victim to ill-health on February 25 last.

Among the various efforts that Dr. Pollen has made to make this Association more known, I think he has succeeded in increasing the roll of our members in a most felicitous way. I hope that we shall always go on increasing the number of our members both here and in India, and I am sure that we are always very grateful to have the benefit of the presence of any distinguished subject of His Majesty in India while he is here on a visit.

Among the various objects of this Association, I consider it is a very important one that we should always try and obtain lectures from those who have the most recent knowledge of what is going on in India, either members of the Civil Service or gentlemen belonging to the Indian community itself. I have only to mention as an illustration that to-day Dr. Pennell will give us the most recent information about the North-West of India, and we shall all be very glad to hear him.

You have been told that this Association will maintain its independence. Personally, I was not afraid that even if we had gone into association with other societies, merely with regard to a building, we should have lost any independence. But I attach great importance to our independence. No doubt the interest taken in Indian subjects is not yet what it ought to be. I am sorry to have to refer to the extraordinary difficulty there is

about getting a fair start for anything connected with India. For instance, with regard to the foundation of the Institute for Oriental Studies. The meeting is aware of the committee over which I had the honour to preside, and which reported, I think, now more than a year ago. A second Commission has been appointed to give effect to our recommendations. In the meantime, in Paris and in Berlin, there is increased activity of all kinds in regard to Oriental studies. I look with dismay on the fact that there is so little enthusiasm for any work connected with India. The question arises whether we sufficiently realize that we are the nation most concerned in the destinies of the East, that our relations with the East are in all directions—the Near East and the Far East, and, I may add, Africa—when you come to think of the extraordinary responsibility which this entails upon us, and especially if we realize the terrible risk of committing blunders due to ignorance of the idiosyncrasies of the races we govern. I am not applying this, of course, to the Civil Service; I am very well aware that the Civil Service do all they can to become acquainted with the manners and customs of the people among whom they live. But this I maintain, that there is a vast field for training those who take up their abode, whether it be in China or Japan, or in India, or in Egypt. I need only refer to the evidence which was given before our committee, and there you will find it stated that people go out into all those countries without the previous education which they ought to receive. Surely that ought to be remedied, and there is a desire now in the City, among the great commercial houses—they have shown it in their evidence before the committee—that they fully recognize the existing needs and deficiencies. I may add that quite recently it has been made clear at Edinburgh, at the World's Missionary Conference, that missionaries should be carefully prepared for their difficult duties. For them an Oriental Institute will be a great boon, and enable them to enter into friendly relations with the people amongst whom their lot is cast. The East India Association, which is trying to create more interest in Indian affairs, ought to have the support of those who are interested in India in an ever-increasing degree.

The next item on the agenda is the re-election of the retiring members of the Council. I will mention their names. I do not think we need have a separate ballot for each member; I shall take them *en bloc*. They are Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., T. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L., J. B. Pennington, Esq., Sir Lesley C. Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., S. S. Thorburn, Esq., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I. I beg to propose those names.

MR. COLDSTREAM: I have much pleasure in seconding the names of those gentlemen for re-election on the Council. (Carried unanimously.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next proposal is one which will elicit general sympathy, and that is a motion of condolence on the death of our late King Edward. Nowhere has the King's death met with more general regret, more profound sorrow, than in our great Indian Empire, among all classes of His Majesty's subjects, and you will, I am sure, readily accept the draft of the address, which is to the following effect:

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The dutiful and loyal Address of the Council of the East India Association.

MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the President and Council, on behalf of the East India Association, humbly beg leave to approach Your Throne with the expression of our respectful condolence on the grievous loss sustained by Your Majesty, the Royal Family, and the Empire, in the death of our Sovereign Lord (Your Majesty's august Father), His Majesty King Edward the Seventh.

And we would respectfully request Your Majesty to be pleased to accept with our humble duty the expression of our loyalty and devotion to the Sovereign on Your Majesty's accession to the Throne of Your ancestors, knowing as we do that the public interests and welfare of India, which our Association endeavours to promote, will be, as they were with our late beloved King, objects of Your Majesty's and Her Majesty the Queen's continued solicitude. We earnestly pray that Your Majesty may be granted long life to reign in peace and happiness over a loyal and united people.

Signed, on behalf of the Council,

REAY, *President.*

JOHN POLLEN, *Honorary Secretary.*

June 29, 1910.

MR. THORNTON: I have great pleasure in seconding the proposal.
(Carried unanimously.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Then I move, besides, an address to Her Majesty, Queen Alexandra:

TO HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

The humble Address of the President, Council, and Members of the East India Association.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

We, the President, Council, and Members of the East India Association, beg leave with our humble duty to approach Your Majesty with the expression of our sincere condolence on the irreparable loss sustained by Your Majesty in the death of our beloved and revered Sovereign Lord King Edward the Seventh.

We pray God to grant Your Majesty a large measure of His strength and comfort in this overwhelming sorrow.

May it please Your Majesty to accept this tribute of our homage and devotion.

Signed, on behalf of the East India Association,

REAY, *President.*

JOHN POLLEN, *Honorary Secretary.*

June 29, 1910.

MR. THORNTON: I have great pleasure in seconding the proposal.
(Carried unanimously.)

MR. IRVINE: Before the annual general meeting closes, I would propose that we pass a cordial vote of thanks to Lord Reay for taking the chair.

MR. OWEN DUNN: I beg to second the proposal. (Carried unanimously.)

The CHAIRMAN: I thank you, gentlemen.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, 1909-10.

THE Council of the East India Association submit the Report and Accounts for the year 1909-10, ending April 30.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Association, held on June 18, 1909, the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was unanimously re-elected President.

The scheme for the joint housing of the three London Societies specially interested in India was still under consideration and has been the subject of correspondence with the Secretary of State for India. It has since been arranged that this Association shall remain independent.

The systematic publication of leaflets, giving what the Council believe to be plain and simple statements of facts about the administration and condition of India, has been steadily maintained at the rate of about one a month, so that thirteen have been issued since the date of the last Annual Report, and the Council have some reason to believe that they are appreciated in quarters where a more accurate knowledge of Indian matters is greatly to be desired. For instance, a gentleman in Stepney, who was organizing a course of lectures on the Empire, was induced to apply to the Hon. Secretary for lecturers on India. Sir Donald Robertson, Dr. Pollen and Mr. Thorburn kindly volunteered their services.

Another encouraging feature has been a request from the Rajah of Kurupam to be supplied with copies of all our leaflets and other publications, for the reasons stated in the following letters from him of February 24 and April 12, 1910:

"SIR,

"I happened to go through some of your Association pamphlets, which the Home Secretary to the Viceroy was good enough to send for my perusal

I find them very interesting and convincing. They are just the papers we are very much in need of for the Madras Presidency Imperial League, the object of which is to suppress sedition and to inculcate loyalty to the British Throne. As I take much interest in the League, I shall feel highly obliged if you will kindly send me at my cost all pamphlets, past and future, to the address given below."

"SIR,

"Please accept my thanks for the leaflets, the journal and other print you were good enough to send me. You know I shall feel very grateful for all the help your Association might render me by its useful publications in the act of organizing in the Madras Presidency a similar Association to run on the same lines, which duty, responsible as it is, His Excellency the Viceroy and the Home Secretary have specially entrusted to me.

"I shall be happy to become a member of your Association, for which I have enclosed my application.

"I shall be much obliged if you will henceforth kindly send all your future pamphlets, journals, and suggestions, that I may successfully carry out my work here and be gracious enough to receive if any, which I believe, on approval, you will publish in England.

"Can you kindly send me, either gratis or for value, all the papers you mention as 'read' on the reverse page of the application form? I am sure they afford an interesting reading."

We have sent him copies of all leaflets, and such journals as could be spared.

We are now sending copies of all leaflets to the Indian Members of the Viceroy's Imperial Council and the Provincial Councils.

Our chief difficulty, of course, is to get the leaflets usefully and widely circulated, and so far we have not succeeded in getting them exposed for sale. It has been suggested that each member of the Association might persuade his own bookseller to keep a copy of the Journal on his counter for sale on the usual terms.

Dewan Bahadur R. Ragoonatha Row, C.S.I., now a member of the new Council in Madras, and Vice-President in 1879, has been reappointed Vice-President; the Right Hon. Lord Northcote, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., and the Maharajah of Burdwan have also accepted the office of Vice-Presidents.

Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., of Bombay, and Mr. R. F. Chisholm, F.R.I.B.A., late Government Architect, Madras, have been appointed Members of Council to fill vacancies under Rule 7.

The following papers were read during the year on the dates specified:

May 24, 1909.—Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., "The Judicial Branch of the Indian Civil Service." Sir Erle Richards, K.C., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

July 15, 1909.—S. H. Fremantle, Esq., I.C.S., "The Progress of Co-operative Credit Societies in Northern India." Sir Thomas W. Holderness, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

November 4, 1909.—Atul Chandra Chatterjee, Esq., I.C.S., "The Need and Methods of Industrial Development in India." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

December 7, 1909.—Ross Arthur Leslie Moore, Esq., I.C.S. (retired), "Mr. Keir Hardie's 'India.'" Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

January 31, 1910.—A. E. Duchesne, Esq., "The Empire's Debt to the Planter." The Right Hon. Sir Joseph West Ridgeway, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members :

The Ven. Archdeacon Baly.

Baron George de Reuter.

H.H. Nawab Muhammad Sher Khan Bahadur of
Radhanpur.

And the resignation of the following :

General Sir O'Moore Creagh, v.c., k.c.b.

M. C. Mallick, Esq.

Sir Lewis McIver, Bart.

F. Loraine Petre, Esq.

Sir Donald Robertson, k.c.s.i.

Major N. P. Sinha.

Lieut.-Colonel F. W. Snell.

Sir James Digges La Touche, k.c.s.i.

P. C. Tarapore, Esq.

Colonel William Richard Yielding.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation, and are eligible for re-election :

Sir Roper Lethbridge, k.c.i.e.

Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, k.c.i.e.

T. H. Thornton, Esq., c.s.i., d.c.l.

J. B. Pennington, Esq.

Sir Lesley C. Probyn, k.c.v.o.

Sir Charles Elliott, k.c.s.i.

S. S. Thorburn, Esq.

Sir Arundel T. Arundel, k.c.s.i.

Fifty-two gentlemen and one lady (at present our only lady member) were elected during the year.

The income for the year ending April 30, 1910 (including balance at bankers and cash in hand), amounted to £681 os. 5½d. Expenditure £453 10s. 4d. Balance in hand and at bankers £227 10s. 1½d.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, July 25, 1910, at 4 p.m., at Caxton Hall, Westminster, when a paper was read by Mr. John Walsh, "The Empire's Obligation to the Lascar," Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Robert Fremantle, G.C.B., C.M.G., F.R.G.S., J.P., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Mr. K. G. Gupta, C.S.I., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Colonel D. G. Pitcher, the Rev. Mr. Underwood, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. L. Moore, Mrs. J. Walsh, Mr. J. H. Advani, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. J. L. Lalvani, Mr. J. C. Das, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Mrs. Hillyer, Mr. D. N. Reid, Captain J. Row, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. and Mrs. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mrs. White, Mr. E. Cazalet, Mr. R. Nundi, Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Professor N. N. Bose, Mr. S. Roy, Miss Boucher, Miss Annie A. Smith, Miss S. Chapman Hand, Mr. Abu Ali, Mr. D. N. Das, Mr. N. K. Nag, Mr. N. Hasan, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. K. C. Chowdry, Mr. G. Nitch, Major Lewis Fisher, Mr. S. M. Zahid, Mr. G. H. Gray, the Misses Vrydenberg, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mrs. Webb, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN having introduced the lecturer to the meeting, Mr. Walsh read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I understand that there are several gentlemen here who will address you, and who will probably make very interesting remarks upon the very interesting lecture we have just heard. I assure you that I was interested in it. I think I know something about the lascars, and I know a good deal about those who serve on board the P. & O., and in other places. I know something also with reference to those who come to England, and I will make a few remarks afterwards as to them. But we certainly have a great deal to learn about the lascars, and I think the origin of them must be news to a good many people. It was not so to me entirely, but at the same time I think most people think that the lascars are simply Indian seamen coming from a certain place. To a certain extent that is true, as the lecturer said. But the real meaning of "lascar" is something quite different; and it only shows it has changed by gradually being adapted to the seaman class, and that seaman class is mostly recruited from a certain portion of India.

I am afraid I must make one or two criticisms on the lecture. The lecturer has, probably unintentionally, exaggerated the numbers of the lascars. I find that from the latest returns which have been made, which I took notes of, as to the "progress of merchant shipping," though there is a large and regular increase in the lascars, it scarcely bears out the large numbers of 78,000 and 100,000 which were mentioned by the lecturer. Here is the latest paper. It is called "Progress of Merchant Shipping," and it was only issued the other day, though dated December, 1908. I do not quite know why they took those years, but it does serve to show the increasing numbers of the lascars. In 1896 there were

27,000 foreigners and 27,900 lascars. In 1901 there were 32,000 foreigners and 33,000 lascars. That is a very curious circumstance, but it is the case that the foreigners and the lascars have to a great extent run neck and neck. At present I am glad to find that the lascars have gained on the foreigners, that is to say, the foreigners have decreased and the lascars increased slightly. The last return, which is dated May, 1909, shows that, whereas in 1860, when there were only 4,000,000 tons of merchant shipping, we had 157,000 British employed; in 1907 we had 11,000,000 tons of shipping, and we had 194,000 employed; of lascars in 1860 we had only 335, and in 1907 we had 42,000. In foreigners in 1860 we had 14,000; in 1907 we had 37,000. The foreigners and lascars taken together in 1860 showed 14,000, and in 1907 there were 82,000. The proportion of foreigners to every 100 British persons employed was 9 per cent. in 1860. There were 194,000 British in 1907, whereas the number of lascars was 42,000. I will not trouble you with any further figures, but I have some more. The increase is pretty evident from that, as it shows an increase of lascars from 335 up to 42,000. I think they are still more or less increasing. It is, however, evident that shipping companies trading in the East are not only very much inclined to, but almost obliged to, use lascar crews. The Englishmen do not want to be discharged abroad, and there is generally a charge for sending home the men if you want to discharge them abroad. That is not the case with natives of the place. That applies not only to the lascars, properly so called, who man our ships, but to the Chinamen; and to an increasing extent I think you will find that our ships in the Far East are manned by Chinese, though I have no return to show it. They are put together in this return which I have shown you, and consequently we cannot discriminate between the two. There is one thing the lecturer did not touch upon, though he did touch on the mixed crews in the engine-rooms. It is quite true that in the East Indian service we always used to speak of Seedees. They came from Africa, but now they come from other parts, as was shown by the lecturer. Due to a great extent, not to the lascars proper, but to the mixed crews of whom he speaks, there have been some very serious mutinies, and very dangerous ones. A mutiny on board a ship (what the British call a row) is generally an insubordination, but with a foreign crew it generally means something very much more serious. I cannot say that I view in entirely the same way as the lecturer the question of whether there should be British seamen in British ships. I am afraid I am one of those who like to see all British ships manned by British seamen, with the exception of those ships in the Far East, where, very properly, they are manned by Asiatics. But we must recollect that the mere increase of trade is not altogether an advantage—at least, looking at it from the point of view of national security. We all know that Adam Smith, the great Free Trader, said that security was of much greater importance than opulence. That is perfectly true. When the Navigation Laws were originally introduced—I think in Cromwell's time, in 1651—there is no doubt that trade suffered temporarily to a very great extent. We excluded the Dutch, and insisted on having British crews; but it was the

foundation—at any rate, such a high authority as Admiral Mahan puts it down as the foundation—of British power, because it trained a large number of British seamen. If you begin with the seaman you will get the trade afterwards. However, I cannot quite agree with the lecturer that it is to the advantage of the Empire that we should increase the number of lascars. At the same time, I personally am very much in favour of the lascars (who are our own subjects) rather than foreigners, who spend the money in their own countries. And we ought to consider all our great possessions in distant parts of the world, India amongst them, as being part of the great British Empire, to which we all belong.

Something was said about the clubs and institutes. I quite agree that we do not provide as much as we might for the lascars. I think the idea put forward by the lecturer is a very good one, and that we ought to do something directly for the lascars. At the same time, as one who is Vice-Chairman of the Mission to Seamen, which has institutes nearly all over the world, we do welcome men of all nations and creeds in our institutes, and help them along. We give them shelter and food, and we advise them where to go, and take care of their money if necessary. We also take care of their letters, which is often necessary, and we give them good advice, which is always necessary. The lecturer said that he did not belittle the Britishers. Britisher is not quite a good term. Britisher is derived from the Americans, and is not strictly correct. I prefer Briton. The subject of what ought to be done in improving the character of our merchant seamen is a very important one. I am quite sure in these institutes and general philanthropic arrangements much will be, and is being, done to improve the character of the British seaman, and make him less drunken and less insubordinate. I am very much of opinion that we are greatly influenced by our environments, and if you make the seaman feel he is not cared for in the least, he is likely to behave indifferently, not to say badly. We must try to make them think they are valuable to the nation, as they are, and we hope to raise them very much in the social scale. I am glad to say that we have done that. The British seaman has increased. In 1903 I see there were 40,000 foreigners, and in 1907 there were 37,000, so that the foreigners have decreased somewhat, and the British seamen have increased very considerably. The number altogether has increased to 195,000 British born—that is, who hail as British. I should like to mention one or two cases which show that the British seamen can behave exceedingly well. I have lately taken passage in the Union Castle Line, the *Kinfauns Castle*, which is one of the largest, and I particularly spoke to the chief engineer. He assured me that he had no trouble at all with his firemen, and that most of them had been in the ship some time. At all events, he would have none but Britishers—I think he called them Britishers—on board the ship. He did not want any others, and he had no trouble with them. I should like also to mention one very satisfactory case which occurred only the other day. I belong to the Shipwrecked Mariners' Society, and a week ago we had the pleasure of presenting a barograph to the Captain of the *Pericles*, which was lost off Cape Otway, in Australia, not very long ago. Captain

Alexander Sinclair came before us, and he told us, and I believe it was corroborated, that there were 490 souls on board that ship altogether. The ship sank in about an hour, and in twenty-six minutes the whole of the people were got into the boats, and every one of them was safely landed. They were only about six or seven miles off the coast. The Captain spoke in the highest terms of his crew, who were all British, and he said that 75 per cent. of them had been with him a long time. That is the crux of the problem. If we treat our people as so many chattels, and take them on board and discharge them again at the earliest possible moment without any care for them whatever, there is no discipline amongst them and they deteriorate. I am glad to see, at all events, that the lascars have that advantage: they have distinctly a code of discipline of their own, and it is to that you may attribute to a great extent their very good behaviour. I hope I have not made too many criticisms on the lecture, but I fully appreciate that we do owe a great deal to our lascars. I fully appreciate that we ought to do a great deal more for them, and I should be very glad if the place of those so-called foreigners could be taken by lascars. I understand that Mr. Underwood is here who has taken a good deal of interest in the lascars in the East End. I will call upon him to give us his experience.

MR. UNDERWOOD said he would add a few words to what the lecturer said as to where the lascars came from. There were some boys who ran away from school with the idea of seeking adventure and going to sea. They got on pretty well as a rule. There were others who got into trouble, and went to sea because they could not go home. Sometimes a man would be sent by his family to Bombay or Calcutta to do business for them, and perhaps was entrusted with a large sum of money; but, the temptation being too great, the money was spent, and when it was spent the family would not allow him to go back, so he had nothing else to do but go to sea. He had also known cases where the man had been careful, had managed to save, and so paid back the family. The sad part was that they came to England and London, and, since the docks were always situated in the worst part of the town, they saw the worst side of London. If they could walk off their ships into Regent Street, it would be very different. They came to Canning Town, and they had to go through Poplar, Limehouse, Stepney, and Whitechapel to get to London, so that they often went back to their country and told people at home that London was a very bad place indeed. He would like to call attention to a slight inaccuracy in the remark about societies which work for sailors in London. The St. Andrew's Waterside Mission for twenty-five years had had a club-room in Victoria Dock Road; and they had seen that the lascars were visited in hospital, and had done other things as well. The speaker had had five years' experience among them, and found as a rule that they were hard-working men, some of them men of considerable education. Some could read and take a great interest in books. Sometimes one found very good chess-players among them, and others good at painting, in their own way. Some were also beautiful writers. He knew one man who wrote Arabic texts beautifully—in fact, quite artistically, and

as good as could be met with in the East. They were very grateful for anything done for them, and on the whole were ready to show their gratitude. When the companies treated them fairly they spoke very well of the companies. He had often heard it said that they preferred the P. & O., because they were not stinted in the matter of water; they had as much as they liked to wash themselves with. (Laughter.)

MR. K. CHOWDRY said that a very important issue had been raised by their worthy chairman on the question of lascars and British seamen. He would place before them a few facts and figures which would show that the employment of the lascar was a distinct economic advantage to the commercial progress of the British Empire. He had taken the figures out from the Blue-Books and the Report of the Labour Party, who made an agitation about the accommodation of the lascars with a view to feathering their own nest and displacing the lascars, so getting their own men employed. In the figures which Mr. Walsh gave it worked out at £190 for a European crew, which was £4 2s. per head, and for victualling a little less than £2; whereas the lascar cost £1 9s., which was less than one-third of the British sailor. Captain Walsh had dealt with the efficiency of British sailors to lascars as two to one. The speaker had talked with European quartermasters in the docks, and they agreed that two Europeans could do as much work as three lascars, so that he took it the efficiency would be as two to three, and the net gain to the British Shipping companies would be really 20 per cent. in employing lascars, and not 14½ per cent., as shown by Mr. Walsh. He had got heaps of figures from the Blue-Books to show that the lascar was steadily displacing foreign seamen, such as Germans, and in some cases the Chinese, though he saw that the Chinese were coming to the forefront; but some shipping companies preferred lascars to the Chinese for many reasons.

As to the question of accommodation raised by the Labour Party he had made sufficient inquiries at the docks, and had correspondence on the subject. He found that the lascars were quite happy with the accommodation they got, and if the demand for extra accommodation was acceded to it might mean their displacement by British sailors. With reference to what the Empire had done for the lascars, they had legislation in India as to modes of employment, discharge, and so on, but he was afraid that some of the regulations would not stand any criticism whatever. They had in Calcutta a system of recruitment of lascars by licensed brokers, and it was perfectly scandalous. He had gathered from evidence before the Committee in Calcutta, as to the remuneration which the licensed brokers got on the lascars' payments, that they made legally something like 1,000 rupees each, which a collector in the Imperial Service did not get. They went in for what was called taxes, and they dumped on board quite incompetent men so long as they got sufficient taxes. He had talked to hundreds of lascars in the docks, and found that they had a great grievance, so that he would like such a society as this to use their great influence to enable the lascars to get rid of these taxes, which are called "dustoories." As to the housing of the lascars in Bombay, they had what was called "chāls," and little sheds licensed under the municipality, and they seemed

to be very well looked after. In Calcutta they had no licensed boarding-houses, with the result that the lascars were a prey to the keepers, who received the advances paid by the shipping companies, and very little went to the lascar. He would like to see pressure brought on the municipalities or the authorities, so that boarding-houses are properly established and conducted. He would also like to see the abolishment of these licensed brokers, and the substitution of some healthy system, which will enable competent seamen to get regular employment and proper wages.

The CHAIRMAN asked whether they were acknowledged by the Government.

MR. CHOWDRY said that the Government granted licences to these brokers, who had to deposit a certain amount of money. He had heard from lascars who had had to pledge goods to raise rupees to get employment, and then they had to pay a certain percentage of wages, and so on. In the docks they had started a club, which originated with himself and Dr. Pollen, where they tried to make the lascars comfortable and more at home, and they had endeavoured to show the better side of London, which had caused them to go back with a better idea of the hospitality of the British nation. This club was not in any way competing with the existing establishments of the kind. Mr. Underwood was doing the same sort of thing. The place in Limehouse which had been mentioned was also doing splendid work. In conclusion, he said that he was once talking to a German gentleman, who said that he would like to see the employment of lascars in increased numbers; and he remembered a conversation which he heard in the city with a certain representative of a German shipping company, who was negotiating with some friends with a view to getting the liners to employ lascars, and he said it would be a distinct advantage. He asked, therefore, was it not time that the British shipping companies should have no hesitation in employing more lascars if the Germans are contemplating doing so.

DR. JOHN POLLEN said that he could not say much, as he had caught a bad cold while down in the East End visiting the Lascars' Club on Sunday evening, and was somewhat raucous. He merely wished to disclaim the credit of having started the club referred to by the lecturer. The idea had originated with Mr. Chowdry, and all he had done was to help him, as far as possible, in getting into better quarters; and, thanks to the kindly assistance of the Princess Sophie Dhuleep Sing, Mr. Ratan Tata, H.H. the Maharajah Sindhia, the Maharajah of Burdwan, and other kind friends, they had been able to get suitable quarters for the club, which was doing much good. He would like also to mention that Captain Row, who knew something about those who go down to the sea in ships, devoted all his time to making the lascars happy, and the attendance of lascars at the club averaged from thirty to forty a day, and the work being done there was good work. As to the original meaning of the word "lascar," he thought Mr. Walsh had given it very accurately. The word had been appropriated in the usual roundabout way in which words come into the possession of seamen. A lascar was originally an artilleryman, but the

seaman got hold of the name, or it was given him, and became his own. Dr. Pollen believed the lascars themselves preferred to be called "khalásis," and he found that "khalási" had had exactly the same history as "lascar." It originally meant "camp follower." It came from the Persian, and signified "freed," as in the phrase "Khalás karo," "set free," or "let go." It might mean that a man getting on board ship was in the nature of a freed man, for the East loved to give big names to small things. The lascar was, at any rate, freed from the tyranny of the land. The words "lascar" and "khalási" had very much the same history as the word "matró," which was the common Russian word for "sailor." Dr. Pollen desired to express personally his obligation to Captain Walsh for his very interesting paper. He knew it was a paper which would not provoke much discussion. They all desired to see British citizens more employed on British ships than those who were not British citizens; and during his recent voyages to and from New Zealand and Australia he found that an opinion prevailed generally among the men in ships that the lascar had a greater aptitude for, and was better suited to, certain kinds of work than the Briton, and could perform duties which did not naturally fall to the part of a Briton in tropical conditions. The lascar was certainly the best instrument for certain kinds of work, particularly in the engine-room and in the coal department, and he helped the Briton by doing duties which the Briton had no great aptitude for. At Fremantle, where Dr. Pollen went ashore on one of the hottest days he had ever felt in the course of his Oriental experience, he saw Britishers—or, as the chairman preferred to call them, Britons—doing work that the coolies at Aden did; and he was bound to say that the Britons were not doing it in those conditions half as well as the coolies did it, although they were paid at five times the rate coolies were paid at. He had no desire to depreciate the British seaman. They all loved Jack, and owed him a debt of gratitude. The more jack-tars we had the better, and he often thought of his own fellow-countrymen round the north and west coasts of Ireland—hardy fishermen, often unemployed; and yet capable of supplying any demand the Royal Navy and mercantile marine might make for able-bodied seamen. There was room for these in our mercantile marine, and room for the lascar also. The lascar was not a "supplanter." He merely supplemented the British seaman, and there was no real rivalry between these two classes of British subjects.

MR. WALSH, in reply, said that the figures which had been criticized were taken from the latest reports of the shipping offices in Calcutta and Bombay—that the chairman's figures were 42,000, while his were 50,000, a difference of 8,000 only. He had had a good deal of experience in Bombay, but he thought Mr. Chowdry had made a mistake in saying that the lascars were housed. When they got to Bombay they were discharged, and went to their homes. He did not know that the Government could do anything as to the cháls. With regard to corruption among the brokers, he supposed it was a thing done more or less in every trade where a man wanted employment. He did not justify that sort of thing, but there was nothing peculiar about it. He thought the lascars had been "pulling his leg" when they spoke to Mr. Chowdry about the matter.

MR. EDWARD A. CAZALET asked the chairman whether he agreed with the abolishment of the coastguards round the coast, which he thought was a serious matter. It was no economy. The Government buildings now stood empty, neither let nor sold. Some of the men who had been discharged were actually without work. As one who lived in Kent, he had heard a great deal about the matter, and there was general discontent and anxiety.

The CHAIRMAN said it was a side issue, but he entirely agreed that it was a great mistake to abolish the coastguards. He thought, however, that Mr. Cazalet had exaggerated things. It appeared that 71 stations had been abolished, and there were 214 remaining, also that the authorities had promised not to make many more reductions. It was a measure not of economy, but inefficiency.

With reference to Mr. Chowdry's remark about the schroffs, it seemed to him (the speaker) not at all a good system, but in Eastern countries it was, generally speaking, very hard to deal with the individual. When in command on the East Coast of Africa some years ago, he found they had got several slaves on board, and they had all paid their money over to their masters. But that was an extreme case.

MR. BUCKLAND proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was carried unanimously.

Sir ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL having proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was also carried unanimously, the proceedings came to an end.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

COLONEL GERINI'S RESEARCHES.

SIR,

In the April number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Mr. E. H. Parker, when reviewing Colonel Gerini's researches on "Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia," has seemingly hit at me; for he says that one of Colonel Gerini's identifications is "almost as far-fetched as Mr. Herbert J. Allen's suggestion made a year or two ago, that the Chinese philosopher Mêngtsz (Mencius) was probably a mere 'frost,' and a creation of the diseased mind of Sz-ma Ts'ien—the Herodotus or father of Chinese history—because the latter travelled all over China [he never went near Yunnan], and borrowed for his false hero the name (of the modern treaty 'port') Mêng-tsz near the Tonquin frontier."

In the first place, it is unfortunate that Mr. Parker should write from memory, and without verifying his quotations. He is evidently referring to some remarks made by me on pp. 266, 267 of my "Early Chinese History; or, Are the Chinese Classics forged?" published in 1906. I did not, however, use the expression "mere frost," and gave as my reason for supposing that Sz-ma Ts'ien was the author of the "Works of Mencius" various notes calculated to show that that book was clearly written by someone well acquainted with the other classics of China, and also after Buddhism had been introduced into that country.

Mr. Parker interpolates the observation that Sz-ma Ts'ien never went near Yunnan. In order to disprove this remark, I suppose it will be sufficient to quote M. Chavannes' "Mémoires Historiques," as Mr. Parker has expressed a high opinion of that work. On p. 32, then, of M. Chavannes' introduction we read: "Semats'ien franchit le fleuve et arriva dans l'ancienne principauté de Tso, qui était devenue le commanderie de Chenli, et qui

correspond à la souspréfecture actuelle de Likiang dans le Yunnan. Il poussa enfin jusque chez les Koenming, le moderne Talifou." It was Mr. Parker himself who used the words "modern treaty port Mêng-tsz" when he reviewed my book, which he characterized as heretical, unreadable, and impossible! So that the covert sneer implied by the note of exclamation after the word "port" must revert on himself. In this review Mr. Parker castigates the late Terrien de la Couperie and Mr. T. W. Kingsmill as well as Colonel Gerini, but it would be an endless task to reply to all Mr. Parker's animadversions.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT J. ALLEN.

THE SULTAN OF SULU.

Touching the Sultan of Sulu, who (as announced in the newspapers of August 7) is visiting Paris in order to "trade off" his jewels—like his dethroned colleagues of Turkey, Morocco, and Persia—it may not be generally known that so late as 1754 his ancestor *Anjolulin* sent envoys with tribute to Peking. It was after the expulsion of the Mongols by the native Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368 that Sulu was first heard of in China; in 1370 the Ming founder despatched a mission to Bruni (North Borneo), and learnt that the Sulu Sultan Paduka Pahala had just attacked that State with success. The Sultan of Sulu, hearing how well his colleagues of Bruni were habitually received at Nanking, and later at Peking, proceeded in person to the latter metropolis with his whole family in 1417. Two sub-Sultans formed part of his suite, and one of these, Paduka Palab, "King of the Atolls," died *en route* at Tê Chou in Shan Tung: two of his sons remained behind to tend the grave; married, and settled there. For 300 years nothing more was heard of Sulu at Peking, as the Spaniards and Portuguese—then called "Franks"—soon after that kept both Bruni and Sulu on the *qui vive*. The Manchus had ousted the Mings, and had been nearly a

century in occupation of the dragon throne when, one fine day in 1726, a Sulu envoy unexpectedly turned up at Marco Polo's Zaitun (near Amoy). He was well received at Peking, and the Emperor ordered his master the Sultan to send tribute every five years. In 1733 the Sultan sent word that he would like to know something of the grave of his ancestor Paduka Palab. Full records were duly unearthed by the Governor of Shan Tung, and a perpetual pension, equal to £2 a year, was conferred on the descendants of the two sons who had remained behind. They still draw it, and their "family names" have been "sinified" into *An* and *Wên*, these being the first syllables of their native personal names *Antulu* and *Wênhala*. Tê Chou is now the seat of a Manchu garrison under an Assistant-Tartar-General; and, as it is on the Grand Canal, some enterprising German ought to verify the above facts, as the locality falls within the German "sphere."

E. H. PARKER.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CLARENDON PRESS; LONDON.

1. *The English Factories in India, 1630-1633.* By WILLIAM FOSTER. This volume begins in a time of peace owing to Shah Jahan "having pollitickly wrought his owne securitie by cutting off all the blood royall" who opposed him. The East India Company, therefore, were able to turn their attention to their constant bane—the excesses of private trade—and naval victories over the Portuguese. The trade on the Coromandel coast, beginning with Armagon, extended at length to five factories; but in 1630, and for the next few years, all trade was much hampered by the terrible famine. With Slade's fleet in 1631 there sailed for India William Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, whose portrait decorates this volume. He visited Shah Jahan, and was well received, and returned in 1633 "full of jewells." In 1631 trade with Bengal was opened in a hesitating manner, and more thoroughly in the next two years. During this period the Dutch merchants still remained formidable rivals to the English, but the latter began to see that the power of the Portuguese was waning. The Danes were still active, but the French were only beginning their career as traders in the East.—A. F. S.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, SALISBURY SQUARE;
LONDON.

2. *Crusaders of the Twentieth Century*, by Rev. W. A. RICE, M.A. By "Crusaders" the author means advocates of Christianity in conflict with the Muḥammadan propaganda—"the Cross" as opposed, as an aggressive force, to "the Crescent." The works that have been published with the

view of the missionary's equipment for his work among Muḥammadans are very numerous; but among them all we know not of any that are equal to this one. True it does not cover the whole of the ground, for the subject is, in fact, encyclopædic, and the more deeply one studies it the more it broadens out. But we know of no book that more effectually deals with the pretensions of Islāmism in its rivalry of Christianity than does the one now before us. Excepting an occasional student of "religions," this work will not find many patrons among general or non-professional readers; but to Christian missionaries whose sphere of labour lies in Persia, India, Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, and other lands where races of Muḥammadans are found, the work should be found of great service and a trustworthy repertory of argument, as also of the facts relating to the doctrines and dogmas of the Great Arab.

Muḥammadans, in their zeal for Muḥammad, are sadly given to "drawing the long bow"; they "out-Herod Herod," and are more Muḥammadan than was Muḥammad himself. On the ground of his single and quite ambiguous allusion to the moon, they raise their stupendous structure of his "splitting" of our friendly satellite, together with her unheard-of behaviour on that "historic" occasion; and on the ground of a few quite ambiguous passages which reveal his spleen against the Jews and Christians of Medina, and a few other phrases in the "Arabia" of his acquaintance, they raise their stupendous indictment respecting Jews and Christians tampering with the text of the original Scriptures. It all reminds one of the girl who carried her tight-lacing to such lengths that, like the wasp, she was in danger of "breaking in two." They allow their imaginations to run wild, till reason and common-sense drop out, unable to keep the pace. If the "text" of the beliefs of the Muḥammadan were restricted to the covers of the Qur'ān, he would find himself without a foot to stand upon in controversy with any Christian of ordinary intelligence; but his incessant borrowing from the Iḥādeess render him the

most unmanageable of romancers : without his " traditions " he is *nowhere* ; and as to these, they are so numerous (and so mutually contradictory withal) that scarcely two Muhammadans can be found who are agreed on the points in dispute. It is partly to this that the celebrated " four schools " of the Faith owe their rise—a subject about which, by the way, our author says nothing, highly important though it is. And, besides the " four schools," there are the almost countless " sects " that have sprung up since the first unhappy family quarrel which led to the rending of " the believers " asunder into the two eternally irreconcilable camps of " Sunnī " and " Shīah."

The author's transliteration of Arabic phrases exhibits much painstaking attention. But although we have a very elaborate analysis at the beginning, yet this does not countervail the absence of an index at the end. In a work so large and important a good *index rerum* would have caused the much-enduring student to invoke " blessings " on him.—B.

LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON.

3. *Mysticism in Heathendom and Christendom*, by DR. E. LEHMANN ; translated by G. M. G. HUNT. Finding that to explain the " mystic " is easier than to produce a definition of " mysticism," the author of this volume devotes his introduction to the task. He does it carefully, sympathetically, and with sustained continuity of thought ; and in the result we have, at the commencement of the volume, a sweetly reasonable dissertation. That which constitutes one a " mystic "—differentiating him from his fellow-men—is a sort of " sixth sense," such as Finney, the New England preacher, taught in his college at Oberlin just seventy years ago. But inasmuch as the very function of this organ is to separate the man who is the subject of it from tangible things—even from " the Ego"—and to carry him away (as by an ecstasis) outside of himself, the tendency of it is to identify him with the Great Supreme (" the Sole "), and

lead to the final stage of asserting that he is *himself* "God." This is the dogma of the Indian Vedāntist, who, if he is anything more than a mere dogmatist, is a mystic in the true sense of our author. From this point the gifted author goes on to enlarge upon the existence of this principle of mysticism as we find it in the earlier stages of all great religions. This carries him back to primitive ages—among the Chinese, the Hindús, the Persians, the Greeks. The forms and developments of "mysticism" among all and each of these peoples is noted, described, and explained; and the result is a highly interesting series of chapters. Of *Muhammadan* "mysticism" the author does not give a separate chapter, but with its most distinctive development, "suffism," he deals at length in his chapter on "Persian Mysticism." On the subject of "suffism" a great deal of popular error exists, which a careful perusal of this chapter should help to dispel.

There are a few slips in grammar and style, as in the position of "has" in line 10 of p. 36, and many the like instances throughout the volume. On p. 53, again, we have the form "Kusho" where we should have had "Kusha"; there is no such word as "Kusho" in Sanskrit; but it may be a press error. On p. 62, line 8, "like" should obviously have been "as"; and in line 14 of p. 71 we have the word "strait" wrongly spelt. But such oversights it will be easy to remedy in a future edition, and, apart from these and other minor points, the work is admirably written. More serious is the popular error endorsed on p. 62, that "drunkenness" is forbidden in the Qur,ān. It is, to be sure, forbidden in the Scriptures of Jews and Christians. But what the Qur,ān *does* forbid is the use of "wine"—the aim of Muḥammad being to differentiate *for all time* between his own followers and the followers of Messiah—even as by the sanctioning of the flesh of the camel he differentiated *for all time* between his own followers and the followers of Moses—views admirably unfolded by Palgrave in his "Travels in Central Arabia."

In a volume of nearly 300 pages, packed with facts and names, it is a pity there should be no index; and the contents-table at the beginning is much too meagre to compensate for this omission. A full and carefully-compiled index would greatly enhance the usefulness of the work to persons to whom time is an object, for it is rather a book for the student than for the general reader. But even so, the work should be of invaluable service to Christian missionaries in all Oriental lands, and a trustworthy guide to all who would increase their acquaintance with the philosophic systems of the East.—B.

JOHN MURRAY; LONDON.

4. *Memoir of the Right Hon. Sir John McNeill, G.C.B., and his Second Wife, Elizabeth Wilson.* By their GRAND-DAUGHTER. With portrait and illustrations. In an age when the passion for writing biography or autobiography does not err assuredly on the side of moderation, we may, notwithstanding, venture to welcome the memoir of a Scotchman to whose capacity as a diplomat Great Britain and India owe much, to whose literary talent the Blackwood of his day bore emphatic testimony, and who to mental abilities much above the average added a physique of remarkable power, vigour, and comeliness. I confess that I was considerably surprised when I found Mr. William Blackwood, in a letter dated March 23, 1824 (p. 65 of *Memoir*), writing these words: "Morier has published 'The Adventures of Hajji Baba,' which has been a good deal talked about; but I think the Mirza is a far more delightful personage." Indeed, so surprised was I at this judgment, that I went to my book-shelves and took down vols. xv., xvi., and xviii. of *Blackwood's Magazine* (1824 and 1825), and proceeded to form my own opinion of the literary talent of the author of "The Visits to the Harem." I quite agreed with Mr. Blackwood's remark that "he was afraid the harem in this

cold climate would be thought too warm"; but I could not persuade myself that Mirza Abdul Tubseb was a more graphic or humorous depicter of scenes from Persian life than the author of that seductive book 'Hajji Baba.' When, too, in *Maga* for January, 1824, I found the review of "Hajji Baba" and read it, the inference I drew was that James Morier at first had concealed his identity under the *nom de plume* of "Peregrine Persic." And yet on March 23, 1824, Blackwood acclaims Morier as the author. As regards the criticisms of Blackwood's reviewer, I can do no more than set against them the introduction, written by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, in Macmillan's edition of 1895. Probably the Blackwood reviewer had never set his foot outside England's shores, and none the less imagined himself to be competent to judge things Persian. Now I say emphatically that no one can possibly appreciate "Hajji Baba" unless he has visited Persia and knows the Persians. Through how many editions "Hajji Baba" has run I do not know. In 1835 it appears in Bentley's series of Standard Novels, and sixty years later Macmillan does not hesitate to bring out a fresh edition with special illustrations.* I doubt not that John McNeill was a greater diplomat than James Morier, but we are justified in concluding that the latter wielded the more facile pen. Still, Sir Henry Rawlinson ("England and Russia in the East," p. 4) has put it on record that "the two ablest papers on the Persian question which have appeared in modern times are those well known to have proceeded from the pen of Sir John McNeill." None the less, he admits, after ten years' probation they are found to be out of date.

Sir John McNeill is one of the group of medical men who have won distinction as diplomats in the East. Lord, who was killed in the first Afghan War; Bellew, who was

* There is yet another well-illustrated edition of recent years, with an introduction by C. J. Wills, the doctor of the British Legation at Teheran some thirty to forty years ago, and author of "The Land of the Lion and the Sun."

connected with Goldsmid's Mission to Sistan (1872), and Roberts's occupation of Kabul (1880); and Sir George Robertson, who took part in the defence of Chitral in 1895, are other members of the group whose names recur to me; but among these McNeill is *facile princeps*. He entered early upon the responsibilities of life, for at the age of nineteen he married a girl of sixteen, and at the age of twenty-one he was a father and a widower.

Although John McNeill, who, like so many Scotch lairds' younger sons of his time, had obtained a commission in the H.E.I.C.'s Service, first entered Persia in January, 1821, it was not till June, 1836, that he had so firmly established himself in the British Diplomatic Service that he could afford to resign his position under the H.E.I.C. On June 3 of that year Mr. McNeill started from London for Persia as British Minister. With him was Stoddart, who in 1842, with Arthur Conolly, met his death at Bokhara at the hands of the Amir of Bokhara's executioners.

From 1836 to 1842 McNeill was absorbed in the vortex of Persian and Afghan politics. He was most closely connected with all the events and intrigues of the Siege of Herat of 1836-1838, and in 1841 he negotiated the commercial treaty with Persia, which placed Great Britain upon the most favoured nation footing, and provided for the establishment of commercial agencies in the two countries.* In the earlier part of his career McNeill had seen much of the heir-apparent to the Persian throne, Abbas Mirza, and draws a most unfavourable picture of his character. The Memoir contains interesting information regarding the outbreak of the Russo-Persian War in 1826, and the conclusion of the Treaty of Turkomanchai in 1828, from which date the Caucasus practically passed into the hands of Russia, though it was not till the sixties that Russia's account with Shamil was finally settled.

On the Crimean Commission of Inquiry, and its rights and wrongs no comment is needed here. We have reached the

* Curzon's "Persia," vol. ii., p. 553.

age now when the triumph of democracy claims to have scattered simony, nepotism, petticoat influence, and all the most ancient and time-honoured types of jobbery to the winds, and to have simply put in their place the tortuous and tedious methods of local self-government, and the infinite possibilities of axe-grinding presented by the delegation of authority to the demagogues and Socialists of the day. What may with some edification be called to mind at this particular moment is the friendship formed between Sir John McNeill and Miss Florence Nightingale during that same Crimean War—a friendship that endured as long as Sir John lived.

In conclusion, I can only add that I regard this Memoir as a well-written book, though I confess that it contains more misprints (for instance, *vide* pp. 171, 246, and 247) than diligent proof-reading should admit, and the transliteration of Persian words is more than antiquated. *Takht-i-rawān* (=horse or mule litter) is in one of the notes spelt in a most astonishing manner. Still, we cannot all be Oriental scholars.

One of the pleasantest pages of the book is the last. In it Mrs. Eddy, the notorious Christian Science leader, is most effectively dealt with. It is curious to note that these very original interpreters of biblical doctrine cannot emancipate themselves from the trammels of the most reputable of religions—viz., “ancestor-worship.” Mrs. Eddy, being born in 1821, allowed her clientèle to claim Sir J. McNeill, who was born in 1795, as her great-grandfather. This, if correct, would argue remarkable precocity on the part of Mrs. Eddy’s forbears.

A. C. YATE.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON.

5. *A Journey in Southern Siberia*, by JEREMIAH CURTIN. The learned American author of this book (which was published since his death) travelled to Lake Baikal with the view of collecting information on the little known manners

and customs of the branch of Mongols now called Buriats. The Mongols have, thanks to Jinghis Khan, Kublai Khan, Tamerlane, and the Mogul Dynasty in India, made their mark on the history of many nations, and yet their descendants are now not very much distinguished subjects of the Russian Empire, still professing Shamanism, a religion of their own, but sunk in apathy, to which their spirit *tarasum* somewhat contributes. We are given an interesting history of Siberia (it appears that Moscow obtained tea thence only about twenty years before "tee" was drunk by Samuel Pepys), and then of the author's journey to the Buriat country, under the escort of a Buriat named Mihailoff. He at once began studying the language and collecting the Buriat legends, which make his book valuable to all readers of folklore. He was fortunate enough to see the very old horse sacrifice, of which we are given grim details; to go to the sacred island of Olkhon, and to gather much information on the Western Buriats' way of living as well. They live, he says, much like American Indians; few know Russian. There are no schools, so the folk-tales which he has translated should be little contaminated with Western influence, except, perhaps, through the Russian exiles, of whom he met many during his interesting journey. The author had a special power of acquiring languages and thus was well equipped for his task. He took many photographs of the Buriats, their houses, utensils, and gods, and so has been able to present before us the daily life of a quiet people who have produced heroes in the past.

A. F. S.

6. *Across Yunnan: A Journey of Surprises*; including an Account of the Remarkable French Railway Line now completed to Yunnan-fu. BY ARCHIBALD LITTLE. Edited by MRS. ARCHIBALD LITTLE.

A full, signed portrait of the accomplished editor of the late Mr. Archibald Little's pleasant little work will be

found on page 28 of "Studies in China Religion" (about to be published by Chapman and Hall), the work of Mrs. Archibald Little clearly entitling her to this quasi-spiritual recognition as the "apostle of natural female feet." The most important part of Mr. Little's posthumous work—a handy little volume of 150 pages—is the careful examination into the alignment, construction, and trade prospects of the Franco-Chinese railway line between Yün-nan Fu and the Ho-k'ou (Chinese), and Lao-k'ai (French) frontier terminus on the Yün Nan-Tonquin boundary, whence the Public Works Department of the French Indo-China Government have carried on the purely French line to Hanoi (capital of Tonquin) and Haiphong (chief port of Tonquin). However, at the time (1904) when the adventurous travellers made their journey from Ch'ung-k'ing to Yün-nan Fu, and thence along the Ch'eng-kiang line of lakes and the railway route to the Red River, the French line had only been completed as far as Viétry, at the junction between the Black River and the Red River in Tonquin, and the enterprising couple had to complete their voyage from Lao-Kai to Hanoi in *chaloupes*, or small steamers of somewhat uncomfortable quality, of which the present reviewer has himself had considerable experience. Goitre seems to be as prevalent in mountainous Yün Nan as Dr. W. E. Geil found it in the equally mountainous region of the Great Wall. The natives of Yün Nan attribute it to decayed leaves falling into the water. Owing to the neglect of Mr. Geil to make a complete index to his book, we are unable to turn up the explanation (if any) he gives of this disease in the north. In the neighbourhood of the mountain tombs, north of Peking, they call it sometimes *lo-li* (pronounced exactly like the two English words *law-lea*), and sometimes *ch'i-ka-ta'rh*, or "puff-wen"; it is also common in the hills of Shao-wu, in Fuh Kien. Manifestly, therefore, it must be caused by the impregnation, calcareous or vegetal, of unboiled drink-

ing water. It is important to notice that, though Tonquin is unhealthy, and the Yün Nan approaches to the capital, Yün-nan Fu, are very malarious; yet, according to Mrs. Little, the city itself is a perfect sanatorium in the way of climate, and no doubt we shall soon hear of gigantic hotels there, and personally-conducted railway tours for pleasure-seekers and French military invalids. Mrs. Little noticed—what the writer had already remarked with regret twenty years ago—that the French military officers are rather too apt to give way to the opium fascination, and to run to excess with regrettable facility, imagining that it keeps off malaria.

The journey from Ch'ung-k'ing to Yün-nan Fu has often been described before, and therefore nothing more need be said on this point, except that Mrs. Little contributes some excellent photographs, notably a family picture of the ex-Viceroy Ts'ên Ch'un-hüan, who publicly patronized her "foot crusade" when Governor-General of Sz Ch'wan. He had also been Governor-General at Yün-nan Fu, but, apparently, he was not there when Mrs. Little and her husband passed through on this expedition. The story (p. 73) about his father, Ts'ên Yüh-ying, having "shut himself up mad," and committed suicide out of remorse, sounds very apocryphal. He was "alive and kicking" in 1890, at least fifteen years after the "phantom heads" which haunted him had been cut off. Nor is it likely to be true that the "magnificent sepulchres of the Ts'ên family, about five miles outside the west gate," were destroyed by the populace. He was of much too stern stuff to be troubled with "remorse." Ts'ên Ch'un-hüan's half brother, Ts'ên Ch'un-ming, has just been removed from the Governorship of Hu Nan, in consequence of the riot at Ch'ang-sha on April 13 last. The author gives us a very fair map on which to follow her movements, but the index is not a very satisfying one. The description of Yün-nan Fu and its heterogeneous population is exceptionally interesting,

and undoubtedly a Cook's tourist party might go there and back from Hong-Kong in a week, passing through half-a-dozen different climates during that short space of time, and seeing more things than are dreamt of in European man's philosophy.—E. H. PARKER.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Wisdom of the East Series.—(1) *The Path of Light*; rendered for the first time into English from the *Bodhi-Charyāvatāra* of Sānti-Deva, a manual of Mahā-Yāna Buddhism, by L. D. BARNETT, M.A., LITT.D.; (2) *The Wisdom of the Apocrypha*, with an introduction by C. E. LAWRENCE. (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W.) These volumes continue to carry out the objects of the series with spirit and usefulness.

The Globe English-French Pocket Dictionary, by F. WOOD, B.A. (OXON). (London: E. Marlborough and Co., 51, Old Bailey, E.C.) This handy little pocket dictionary will be found very convenient, not only to the student, but to those who travel in the Near East, and those employed in the commercial world, as it contains not only all the words in daily use and many commercial and technical terms, but also a large number of useful phrases.

Travel and Exploration (London: Witherby and Co.). The July, August, and September numbers of this very interesting magazine contain many important and interesting articles. In July, "Wadai: the Last of the Sudanese Sultanates," by A. H. Keane, LL.D., was the principal exploration article, and the following were the principal articles in the August and September numbers respectively: "The Lu-Chu Islands," by Walter J. Clutterbuck, and "Byways in the Caucasus," by Colonel C. de la Poer Beresford. Each number is beautifully illustrated on art paper.

The Army and Navy Chronicle (111, Jermyn Street, St. James's, London, S.W.). There have appeared in this Journal during the quarter (July, August, and September) some very interesting articles. The Army manœuvres in England have been most ably portrayed. The excellent photographs of the Army, Navy, and the Territorial Forces are deserving of great praise.

A History of the Minor Dynasties of Persia, being an extract from the *Habib-us-Siyar* of Khondamir, edited by GEORGE S. A. RANKING, B.A., M.D., M.A. (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press). This text book has been prepared to meet the requirements of students of the Oxford University, for whom it is prescribed as a book for Moderations, and is based on the lithographed text of the *Habib-us-Siyar*, published in Bombay in 1857.

The Tenth Financial and Economic Annual of Japan, 1910: The Department of Finance. (Tokyo: Printed by the Government Printing Office.) As usual in these unexampled Reports of Finance, Revenue, Expenditure, Exports and Imports, Railways, Shipping, etc., figures are given in most ingenious diagrams, which show at a glance the increase or decrease of the commerce of the country. An excellent map accompanies the volume.

Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, Vol. IV: Arabic Medical Works, prepared by Maulavi Azimu'd-din Ahmad. (Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt.) This volume deals with the Arabic works on Medicine contained in this collection, the chief feature of which refers to medical works by ancient Arabian authors.

Journal of the Burma Society. Vol. I., No. 1, April, 1910. (Probsthain and Co., 41, Great Russell Street, London. Burma: Myles Standish and Co., Rangoon.) The Burma Society was formed in London in April, 1906, with the following objects: To form all Burmans in England, and all interested in Burma, into one united body. To assist with information and advice all Burmans who may be in England or about to come to England. To maintain a magazine, to be called the *Journal of the Burma Society*, and to further the interests of Burma generally. The first journal was issued in April, 1910, and contains some very interesting information.

Archaeological Survey of India: Pallava Architecture, by ALEXANDER REA, F.S.A. SCOT., M.R.A.S. (Madras: Printed

by the Superintendent, Government Press.) This handsome volume contains interesting and very beautiful illustrations of ancient Pallava architecture, and history relating thereto.

Livingstone College Year Book, 1910. (Livingstone College, Leyton, London, E.) One of the chief points for consideration at the recent World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh, was the question of the preparation of missionaries, and the interest shown in this matter at the Conference will doubtless lead to careful consideration of this important problem by all missionary societies. In view of this fact the *Livingstone College Year Book* contains a special article dealing not only with the advantages of elementary medical training for missionaries, but mentioning some of the difficulties, and showing how these are met at Livingstone College. The *Year Book* also contains extracts from letters of old students, indicating how their knowledge has been used, together with a list of the students who have passed through the College, thus showing clearly the sources from which students have been drawn and the countries in which they are now working, representing thirty-six different societies and eighteen different nationalities. The *Year Book* also contains a summary of the year's progress in Tropical Medicine, and Notes on Outfitting, including the description of a water-sterilizer invented by a student of the College, which promises to be of great usefulness to those who desire to protect themselves from water-borne diseases.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*United Empire* (The Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*; *The Hindustani*

Review and Kayastha Samachar, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road); — *Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), June and July, 1910 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.); — *The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto); — *The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and London); — *Alphabetical List of the Titles of Works in the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka: being an Index to Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue, and to the 1905 Kioto Reprint of the Buddhist Canon*, prepared by E. Denison Ross (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1910); — *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the Year ending March 31, 1910* (Rangoon: Government Printing Press, Burma, 1910); — *Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yeravda for the Year 1909* (Bombay: Government Central Press); — *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government: Dutch Records, No. 9, "Extracts from General Inventories and Establishment Lists of the Years 1743, 1761, and 1780,"* copied by the Rev. P. Groot (Madras Government Press, 1909); — *The Encyclopædia of Islam: a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muhammedan Peoples*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, and A. Schaade, No. VI. (London: Luzac and Co. Leyden: late E. J. Brill, Limited); — *Bibliography of Social Science: Journal of the International Institute of Social Bibliography*, May, 1910 (P. S. King and Son, London, S.W.).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *Sport and Travel in the Far East*, by J. C. Grew (London: Constable and Co., Limited); — *A General Index to the Names and Subject-Matter of the Sacred Books of the East*, compiled by M. Winternitz, with a preface by A. A. Macdonell (Oxford:

at the Clarendon Press);—*The Brahui Language*, Part I., by Denys de S. Bray, I.C.S. (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing);—*Bombay in the Making*, by Phiroze B. M. Malabari (London: T. Fisher Unwin);—*The Native States of India*, by Sir William Lee-Warner, K.C.S.I. (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited);—*The Old Syriac Gospels*, edited by Agnes Smith Lewis (London: Williams and Norgate).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL. — The first meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council was held on August 5 at Simla, the Viceroy presiding. The attendance was an unusually large one, including both European and Indian. The Hon. Mr. Jenkins opened the proceedings by introducing The Seditious Meetings Act, which in the ordinary course will expire at the end of October, and which he wanted to continue to be in force at least to the end of March, 1911. Before the Bill was prepared, local Governments were consulted, and all were unanimous in the opinion that the continuance of the Act was absolutely necessary to the maintenance of law and order in their respective provinces. Discussion followed the production of the Bill, the Viceroy referring to the Bill as so important a measure that it could not well be considered during a Simla session. He therefore postponed its further consideration to the Calcutta Council, when every detail of the necessary legislation will be fully examined.

A conspiracy has been discovered in Eastern Bengal of considerable extent, some of the members of which have been arrested and are on trial.

A proposed "All-India Memorial" to the late King Edward has been inaugurated, to which subscriptions have been contributed by many Indian chiefs and members of the community. The memorial is to be in the form of an equestrian statue at Delhi, in the garden between the famous mosque of Jama Masjid and the Mogul Palace of Shah Jehan, now known as the Fort. At Lahore it is proposed to build a new medical college and to enlarge the existing hospitals, so as to form a great central institution for medical relief and instruction. To this memorial great response has been made with donations, especially from the Native States.

H.H. the Maharaja of Cashmere has decided to establish at Jammu, a Zenana hospital as a memorial to the late King-Emperor. The institution will be called the King Edward Zenana Hospital, which is estimated to cost about two lacs of rupees.

In support of a proposed memorial to Lord Minto, an appeal is being made by a committee of Indians, which is meeting with success. It is intended to open a Minto Park in Allahabad. H.H. the Maharaja of Gwalior has given Rs. 15,000 (£1,000).

Sir E. N. Baker, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, laid the foundation-stone of the new buildings of the Surrendernath Banerjee College on August 29. In the course of his address he paid a high tribute to Mr. Banerjee's work, and promised that a Government contribution to the building fund should be made.

The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned to increase the grant to 100 lacs of rupees for the protection of the irrigation works in India, to take effect from next year. Meanwhile, if the monsoons do not fail, an attempt will be made to provide a supplementary grant for the Tindula irrigation project.

The expenditure from loan funds on new productive irrigation works in India during the past official year has amounted to about 156 lacs of rupees, the highest figure ever attained. One hundred and ten lacs were spent in the Punjab alone, chiefly on the Triple Canal project in this province. Of the rest, 17 lacs were spent in the North-West Frontier Province, mainly on the Upper Swat Canal, also engineered by Punjab officers. Burma spent 12 lacs, and smaller sums by Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces.

Sir William Wedderburn has accepted the Presidency of the Indian National Congress, which will open at Allahabad on December 26, and leaves England for Bombay on December 2.

The King has conferred the dignity of a Baron of the

United Kingdom on Sir C. Hardinge, Governor-General Designate of India, by the style and title of Baron Hardinge of Penshurst, in the County of Kent.

Lord Penshurst has made all the appointments to his staff, and the complete list is as follows : Private secretary, Mr. J. H. Du Boulay, C.I.E. ; military secretary, Major F. A. Maxwell, V.C., D.S.O. (18th P.W.O. Tiwana Lancers) ; comptroller of the household, Captain J. Mackenzie (35th Sikhs) ; aides-de-camp, Major the Hon. H. J. Fraser (Scots Guards), Captain R. G. Jelf (King's Royal Rifle Corps), and Captain the Hon. A. O. W. C. Weld Forester (Grenadier Guards) ; surgeon, Major F. O'Kinealy, I.M.S.

The following appointments have been made during the quarter. To be Members of the Council of the Governor-General of India—Mr. Spencer Harcourt Butler, C.S.I., C.I.E., of the Indian Civil Service (to be Sixth Ordinary Member) ; Mr. William Henry Clark, C.M.G., of the Board of Trade (to be an Ordinary Member) ; Robert Warrand Carlyle, C.S.I., C.I.E., of the Indian Civil Service (to be an Ordinary Member).

Mr. Richard Amphlett Lamb, C.S.O., C.I.E., has been appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, in succession to Sir J. W. P. Muir-Mackenzie, K.C.S.I.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—Several daring raids have taken place on the North-West Frontier during the quarter. On August 20 a gang of outlaw raiders attacked a mail-cart near Bannu, shot the ponies, killed the revenue collector of Tank, who was a passenger, and carried off the driver, the syce, and three passengers. A party of North Waziristan Militia, under the command of Lieutenant E. P. Quinan, attacked the gang and released the prisoners who had been captured. The outlaws made their escape in the thick grass, after wounding a havildar of the Militia.

On the night of August 24 fifteen armed men, believed to be Khost outlaws, carried off a postman from Hangu village and killed a man who challenged them on the road.

On August 26 seventy men, believed to be Zakka Khels, Meshtis, and Malla Khels, attacked the village of Naryab (Upper Miranzai), and killed five men. They met with resistance from the villagers, and therefore secured little loot. A detachment of the Samana Rifles was sent to Naryab, and a squadron of cavalry moved on to Hangu.

PERSIA.—The Sipadar and Sardar Assad, with other members of the Cabinet, having resigned, Mustaufi-el-Mamalik was entrusted with the formation of a new Ministry. The new Cabinet was introduced to the Mejliss on July 25, which, with the exception of Mustaufi-el-Mamalik, the Premier, and Firman Firma, the Minister of the Interior, is composed of members who have not hitherto held ministerial office. Hussein Kuli Khan Nawab, who is Minister for Foreign Affairs, was for some years Secretary to the Legation in London. Dabir-el-Mulk is Minister of Justice, and Kavam-es-Sultaneh Minister of War. Hakim-el-Mulk is Minister of Finance, and Assad Ulla Mirza the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs. The Cabinet submitted its programme to the Mejliss on July 30. It intends to employ foreign advisers, and undertakes the necessary reform of the police, to improve administration in the provinces, to punish disorderly elements, to increase the provincial garrisons to 30,000 men, to establish a central force of 6,000 men, to take steps to cover the deficit in the Budget, and to undertake reforms in the courts of justice and schools. They hope, with the friendly assistance of the Powers, to obtain the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Northern Persia.

During the quarter an unusual number of outrages have taken place in various parts. In July the international port was raided near Kazvin, and a postal fourgon was attacked between Kum and Sultanabad, in mistake for a bank waggon. Robberies have occurred near Teheran, where a servant of the telegraph department was nearly killed. News from Sultanabad indicated that bands of

marauders were terrorizing the province. The Government troops were defeated by Kurds outside Kermanshah.

CHINA.—By an edict issued at Peking on August 17 the Reform party was restored to power. Tang-shao-yi, a leading Reformer and Yuan-shih-kai's former lieutenant, is appointed President of the Ministry of Communications. Grand Councillors Shih-hsu and Wet-yu-seng are dismissed from office, and Prince Yu-lang and Hsu Shih-chang appointed to succeed them. Sheng-kung-pao becomes Vice-President of the Ministry of Communications, and is attached to the Ministry of Finance to assist in the reform of the currency.

JAPAN.—Port Arthur was opened to the shipping of all nations on July 1, 1910.

The new Russo-Japanese Agreement has been signed, and its terms have been communicated by the contracting Powers to the British and French Governments. It guarantees the maintenance of the *status quo* in Manchuria, as defined in previous arrangements between Russia and Japan, and further provides that, if these arrangements or the agreements concluded by either of the contracting parties with China should be menaced, the Governments of St. Petersburg and Tokyo will concert measures for their defence.

A treaty was signed by Korea and Japan on August 22, by which the ancient Empire of Korea ceased to exist, and became an integral part of Japanese territory, which will hereafter be named "Chosen." The following is the official text of the Japanese proclamation annexing Korea, together with the treaty concluded between the two parties:

"Notwithstanding the earnest and laborious work of reform in the administration of Korea in which the Governments of Japan and Korea have been engaged for more than four years since the conclusion of the Agreement of 1905, the existing system of government in that country has not proved entirely equal to the duty of preserving

public order and tranquillity ; and, in addition, the spirit of suspicion and misgiving dominates the whole peninsula.

" In order to maintain peace and stability in Korea, to promote the prosperity and welfare of Koreans, and at the same time to insure the safety and repose of foreign residents, it has been made abundantly clear that fundamental changes in the actual régime of government are absolutely essential. The Governments of Japan and Korea, being convinced of the urgent necessity of introducing reforms responsive to the requirements of the situation and of furnishing sufficient guarantee for the future, have, with the approval of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan and His Majesty the Emperor of Korea, concluded, through their respective plenipotentiaries, a treaty providing for complete annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan. By virtue of that important act, which shall take effect on its promulgation on August 29, 1910, the Imperial Government of Japan undertake the entire government and administration of Korea, and they hereby declare that the matters relating to foreigners and foreign trade in Korea shall be conducted in accordance with the following rules :

" 1. Treaties hitherto concluded by Korea with foreign Powers ceasing to be operative, Japan's existing treaties will, so far as practicable, be applied to Korea. Foreigners resident in Korea will, so far as conditions permit, enjoy the same rights and immunities as in Japan proper, and the protection of their legally acquired rights subject in all cases to the jurisdiction of Japan. The Imperial Government of Japan are ready to consent that the jurisdiction in respect of the cases actually pending in any foreign Consular Court in Korea at the time the Treaty of Annexation takes effect shall remain in such Court until final decision.

" 2. Independently of any conventional engagements formerly existing on the subject, the Imperial Government of Japan will for a period of ten years levy upon goods imported into Korea from foreign countries or exported from Korea to foreign countries and upon foreign vessels entering any of the open ports of Korea the same import or export duties and the same tonnage dues as under the existing schedules. The same import or export duties and tonnage dues as those to be levied upon the aforesaid goods and vessels will also for a period of ten years be applied in respect of goods imported into Korea from Japan or exported from Korea to Japan, and Japanese vessels entering any of the open ports of Korea.

" 3. The Imperial Government of Japan will also permit for a period of

ten years vessels under flags of the Powers having treaties with Japan to engage in the coasting trade between the open ports of Korea and between those ports and any open port of Japan.

"4. The existing open ports of Korea, with the exemption of Masampo, will be continued as open ports, and in addition Shiwiu will be newly opened, so that vessels, foreign as well as Japanese, will there be admitted, and goods may be imported into and exported from these ports.

" THE TREATY.

" His Majesty the Emperor of Japan and His Majesty the Emperor of Korea, having in view the special and close relations between their respective countries, desiring to promote the common weal of the two nations and to assure permanent peace in the Extreme East, and being convinced that these objects can be best attained by the annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan, have resolved to conclude a treaty of such annexation, and have, for that purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries—that is to say, His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Viscount Masakata Terauchi, his Resident-General, and His Majesty the Emperor of Korea, Ye-wan-yeng, his Minister President of State, who, upon mutual conference and deliberation, have agreed to the following articles :

" Article I. His Majesty the Emperor of Korea makes complete and permanent cession to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan of all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea.

" Article II. His Majesty the Emperor of Japan accepts the cession mentioned in the preceding article, and consents to the complete annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan.

" Article III. His Majesty the Emperor of Japan will accord to Their Majesties the Emperor and ex-Emperor and His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince of Korea and their consorts and heirs such titles, dignities, and honours as are appropriate to their respective ranks, and sufficient annual grants will be made for the maintenance of such titles, dignities, and honours.

" Article IV. His Majesty the Emperor of Japan will also accord appropriate honour and treatment to the members of the Imperial House of Korea and their heirs other than those mentioned in the preceding article, and funds necessary for the maintenance of such honour and treatment will be granted.

" Article V. His Majesty the Emperor of Japan will confer peerages

and monetary grants upon those Koreans who, on account of meritorious services, are regarded as deserving such special recognition.

"Article VI. In consequence of the aforesaid annexation, the Government of Japan assume the entire government and administration of Korea, and undertake to afford full protection for the person and property of the Koreans obeying the laws there in force, and to promote the welfare of all such Koreans.

"Article VII. The Government of Japan will, so far as circumstances permit, employ in the public services of Japan in Korea those Koreans who accept the new régime loyally and in good faith, and who are duly qualified for such services.

"Article VIII. This Treaty, having been approved by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan and His Majesty the Emperor of Korea, shall take effect from the date of its promulgation.

"In faith thereof, etc."

In relinquishing his power the Emperor of Korea issued an edict in which he said it was impossible for him to effect reforms, and therefore he felt it wise to place the task in other hands. His Majesty appealed to the people not to create a commotion, but to peacefully pursue their occupations and obey the new administration. The petty offenders were amnestied and the poor relieved of their unpaid taxes.

Sir Claude MacDonald has been appointed to serve as Ambassador at the Court of Japan for another period of two years. Sir Claude has been already nearly ten years in Japan.

Serious floods have caused widespread disaster in Japan. They have spread themselves over a large part of Tokyo and fifteen prefectures outside it. Many lives have been lost and houses swept away.

SOUTH AFRICA.*—Sir Richard Solomon, High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa, on June 28 presented to the Queen, on behalf of the Government and people of the Union, six diamonds mounted as ornaments, and cut from the famous Cullinan stone, discovered in 1905, in commemoration of the Union of the South African Colonies. Her Majesty accepted the gift, and requested the following

* The South African elections took place on September 15, and resulted as follows: Nationalists, 67; Unionists, 37; Labour Members, 4; and Independents, 13.

message to be conveyed to the Government and people of the Union :

"I am deeply touched by the generous wish of the Government and people of the Union of South Africa to present to me these beautiful diamonds in memory of the inauguration of the Union. I gratefully accept the gift for myself and for those who come after me as an addition to the Crown Jewels. The diamonds will not only be lasting proof of the unique mineral resources of South Africa, but a cherished token of affection evinced towards me by its people. My only regret is that circumstances, alas ! have made it impossible for me to receive this offering in South Africa itself during that visit to which I had looked forward with keen interest and pleasure."

Lord de Villiers, on June 28, unveiled at Cape Town the statue of Cecil Rhodes, which has been erected by public subscription.

A pageant has been arranged, and will take place in the first week in November at Cape Town, on the shores of Table Bay, to celebrate the Union of South Africa.

The suite in attendance on Field-Marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught during his visit to South Africa in connection with the opening of the first Union Parliament, will be composed as follows : The Lord Hamilton of Dalzell, K.T., C.V.O. (Lord-in-Waiting) ; Sir Francis Hopwood, G.C.M.G., K.C.B. (Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies) ; Commodore R. Erskine Wemyss, M.V.O. (Aide-de-Camp and Extra-Equerry to His Majesty the King) ; Major H. C. Lowther, M.V.O., D.S.O. (Private Secretary) ; Captain T. N. Rivers Bulkeley, M.V.O. (Equerry) ; Captain R. F. S. Grant, D.S.O. (attached) ; and Captain E. S. Worthington, R.A.M.C. (Medical Officer). Miss Pelly will go as Lady-in-Waiting to her Royal Highness the Duchess of Connaught.

ORANGE FREE STATE.—The Central Council which was appointed to institute schools in which children could be taught through the medium of their mother tongue, with

adequate provision for the teaching of Dutch and English, issued a statement of policy as follows :

Pupils to be instructed in accordance with Clause 137 of the South African Act.

The curriculum to be similar to the Transvaal Code, 1909.

English and Dutch to be taught as languages. The lower standards to be taught through the medium of their home language, the higher standards in either. Parents in every way to be given a wide option.

Teachers to be eligible whether unilingual or bilingual, irrespective of nationality.

The Council are establishing, immediately, schools in Bloemfontein, Harrismith, Bethlehem, and Ficksburg.

UGANDA.—In commemoration of Sir Hesketh Bell's services to Uganda as Governor, the Government of the Protectorate has, with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, directed that Kampala Port, on Lake Victoria, shall henceforth be known as Port Bell.

AUSTRALIA : COMMONWEALTH.—The Prime Minister and Treasurer delivered his Budget speech on September 7. He stated that the Commonwealth revenue during the financial year 1909-10 was £15,538,000, including £11,593,000 from Customs. The expenditure for the same period amounted to £7,497,000, this sum including £1,497,000 for old-age pensions. It is the intention of the Government to take over and develop the Northern Territory. Penny postage, both throughout Australia and with countries overseas, would be established on May 1 next.

QUEENSLAND.—The estimated revenue for the coming year, according to the Budget, is £5,046,000, and the expenditure £5,038,000, leaving a surplus of £8,000. The non-recurring expenditure was £250,000, and the loan expenditure £1,500,000, the bulk of this being for railway. Agricultural prospects in the colony were good. The exports amounted to £2,250,000. Trade and commerce were most flourishing.

VICTORIA.—Sir Thomas Carmichael, Governor of Vic-

toria, opened the Victoria State Parliament on July 6. His speech expressed grief at the lamented death of King Edward, and dwelt on his tact, sagacity, love of peace, and broad sympathy with his people. He expressed the hope that King George's reign will be long and beneficial. He noted with satisfaction the continued prosperity of the State.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The revenue of Western Australia for the past year exceeded that of the previous year by £383,000, and showed a surplus of £210,000 on the year's transactions. Last season 680,000 acres were under wheat, and it was anticipated that 900,000 would be sown with wheat in the coming season. The year's wool exports were close upon £1,000,000 in value.

NEW ZEALAND.—The estimated value of New Zealand products exported during the year ended June 30 last was £20,440,837, compared with £17,164,741 during the previous year.

CANADA.—Lord Grey, the Governor-General of Canada, has made a tour from Ottawa overland to Hudson Bay, covering the journey over which the fur traffic has been carried for the last two and a half centuries. On August 8 the party embarked in twelve canoes, with twenty-four Indians, three mounted police, a cook, and two servants. The journey to Hudson Bay occupied twelve days down the Nelson River. The object of the tour was to explode the theory of the "Frozen North," and to add another chapter to the history of Northern travelling. From the Hudson Bay Lord Grey went to St. John's, Newfoundland, where he was received by the Colonial Secretary on behalf of the Newfoundland Government. He paid a visit to Lord and Lady Northcliffe at Grand Falls, and inspected the paper-mills. He spent a considerable time going over the whole plant, and keenly followed every process of paper-making.

The Atlantic Fisheries dispute, which has been a matter of contention between Great Britain and the United States for 130 years, was settled on September 7 by the decision

of the Hague Arbitration Court, which met on June 1. The award of the tribunal takes the form of a reasoned argument upon each feature of the case, followed by the finding of the Court and a number of special recommendations. The Canadians and Americans generally express satisfaction with the result.

The total revenue for the first quarter of the present fiscal year amounted to £5,267,000, an increase of £948,000. The expenditure for the same period was £1,766,000, an increase of £3,100.

Winnipeg marketed 88,000,000 bushels of wheat during the year ended August 31, and has now become the premier wheat market of North America.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The last fiscal year has been a period of unexampled prosperity in the Colony's history. There has been a great revival of business and increase of revenue in every department of affairs.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Lieutenant-General Sir Alexander George Ross, K.C.B., Colonel-Commandant 51st Sikhs, Indian Army;—Lieutenant-General Clement John Smith, of the Indian Army (Indian Mutiny);—Major-General J. Emerson, late of the Indian Army;—Major-General A. D. Dennis, late of the Bengal Artillery (Punjab campaign 1848-49);—Surgeon-General John George Faught, sometime Hon. Surgeon to King Edward (Ashantee war 1874, Afghan war 1878-80);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. B. Aislabie, late of the 3rd Sikhs (North-West Frontier 1863, Afghan war 1879-80);—James Douglas, C.I.E., late Agent of the East Indian Railway;—Major J. Harrison, late of the Indian Army;—Major H. Durrant, late 5th Bengal Cavalry;—Surgeon-General P. G. FitzGerald, late of the Madras Medical Service;—Colonel W. B. Birch, late Bengal Staff Corps;—Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Sinclair Campbell (Perak expedition 1875-76, Burmese expedition 1885-87);—Major A. Walpole, Royal Engineers (Chitral 1895);—Captain Robert Marshall;—Julius Wood Muir, late of the Bengal Civil Service;—William Banks Gwyther, A.R.I.B.A., Chief Engineer to the Eastern Bengal and Assam Government;—Lieutenant-General Alastair McLan Macdonald, Colonel of the Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment (Crimean campaign);—Colonel W. H. Mason, late Bombay Staff Corps (Sikh war 1848, China war);—Colonel Leslie O. Patterson (Burmese war 1856, Indian Mutiny);—Colonel W. N. Wroughton, late

Indian Army;—Lieutenant-Colonel W. C. Farwell, late Commandant 26th Punjab (North-West Frontier 1877-78, Afghan war 1878-80, Candahar, Burma 1886-88);—Lieutenant-Colonel St. John Richardson, late Indian Army (Afghanistan 1879-80, Chitral 1895);—Colonel P. W. Powlett, late of the Indian Army (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel Ernest Le Pelley (Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. Merewether (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1886-88);—Ramsay D. Broadfoot, Indian Civil Service;—Lieutenant-General G. Wheeler, late of the Bengal Staff Corps (Burmese war 1852);—Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Conry, late of the Bengal Medical Service (Burmese expedition 1885-87);—John Bennett Carruthers, F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Assistant-Director of Agriculture at Trinidad;—Major-General Newton Barton, Hon. East India Company (Punjab campaign 1849, Indian Mutiny, Afghan war 1879);—Sir Lewis Tupper, formerly Financial Commissioner of the Punjab;—William James Money, C.S.I., late Indian Civil Service;—Lieutenant-General Sir James Clerk-Rattray, K.C.B. (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Captain E. D. Simson, Indian Medical Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel St. John Barnett, late Bengal Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny, Afghan war 1879-80, Bhootan campaign 1865-66, Hazara campaign 1868, Perak expedition 1875-76);—Captain H. J. Willis, Indian Army (Ashantee 1900);—Major George Murray Rolland, V.C. (East Africa 1903);—Lieutenant-General B. H. Fisher (Crimea, etc.);—Sir Lytton Holyoake Bayley, for many years Judge of the High Court of Bombay;—Lieutenant-General S. F. Grant, late of the Indian Army (Indian Mutiny);—Major W. H. Prendergast, late of the Indian Army (Hazara expedition 1888, Burma 1892-93);—Captain T. C. S. Speedy (Indian Mutiny);—Henry Paul Todd-Naylor, Indian Civil Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Doveton Maxwell, C.B.E. (Burmese war 1885-88);—Colonel A. Chaplin, late of the Indian Army (Burmese expedition 1888);—Colonel R. G. McQ. McLeod, D.S.O. (South Africa);—Deputy-Surgeon-General J. L. Paul, late of the Indian Medical Service;—Arthur W. Foord, Director of Indian Government Telegraphs;—Rev. Dr. Maurice Phillips, for many years one of the Indian Missionaries of the London Missionary Society;—Prince Suleman Quadir of Oude, the youngest son of Amjad Ali Shah, the penultimate King of Oude;—General Sir Frederick William Edward Forestier Forestier-Walker, K.C.B., etc., Governor of Gibraltar (Kaffir war 1878, Zulu war 1879, Bechuanaland expedition 1884-85, Boer war 1899-1902);—Colonel Sir Charles Bean Euan-Smith, late Indian Army (Abyssinia 1867, Afghan war 1876);—Colonel T. C. Martelli (Afghan war 1878);—Edward Rose, late of the Indian Civil Service;—Major-General R. N. Gream (Afghan war);—Colonel C. W. I. Harrison, late of the Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch of the North-West Provinces;—Major Mosley Mayne, late Bombay Staff Corps (Afghan war 1879-80);—Captain John Charles Francis Ramsden (Crimea, Indian Mutiny).

September 12, 1910.

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